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Peopling for Profit in Imperial Brazil

Directed Migrations and the Business of Nineteenth-Century Colonization

JOSÉ JUAN PÉREZ MELÉNDEZ

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Peopling for Profit in Imperial Brazil

Peopling for Profit provides a comprehensive history of migration to nineteenth-century imperial Brazil. Rather than focus on Brazilian slavery or the mass immigration at the end of the century, José Juan Pérez Meléndez examines the orchestrated efforts of migrant recruitment, transport to, and settlement in post-independence Brazil. The book explores Brazil's connections to global colonization drives and migratory movements, unveiling how the Brazilian Empire's engagement with privately run colonization models from overseas crucially informed the domestic sphere. It further reveals that the rise of a for-profit colonization model indelibly shaped Brazilian peopling processes and governance by creating a feedback loop between migration management and government formation. Pérez Meléndez sheds new light on how directed migrations and the business of colonization shaped Brazilian demography as well as enduring social, racial, and class inequalities. This title is part of the Flip it Open program and may also be available Open Access. Check our website Cambridge Core for details.

José Juan Pérez Meléndez is a historian of Latin America and the Caribbean who specializes in nineteenth-century Brazil and world history. He serves as Assistant Professor at the University of California, Davis. This is his first book.

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JOSÉ JUAN PÉREZ MELÉNDEZ
University of California, Davis

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Contents

List of Figures *page* ix
List of Tables x
Acknowledgments xi
Note on Currency and Language xvi
List of Abbreviations xvii
Maps xix

Introduction: What Is Colonization? 1

PART I COLONIZATION'S STATECRAFT

1 Peopling as Strategy: Appeasement and Preemption in the Joanine Court 27
2 Marching to the Homestead: Colonization in the Crosshairs of the Long Post-Independence 52

PART II COLONIZATION COMPANIES AND THE COLONO TRADE

3 Shareholder Oligarchies: The First Homegrown Companies 81
4 Palatial Diplomacy: Colonization at the Hand of the Emperor's Cabal 120
5 Brazil's Great Transformation 152

PART III DISENTANGLING COMPANIES AND STATE

6 Cabinets and Companies: Testing the Limits of the State 187

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. IP address: 191.187.132.121, on 03 Oct 2025 at 01:09:25, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/955B9230244551DFFB0DC4C59153687B

7 The Dregs of War: Emigrant Sweeps at a Time of Global Turmoil 224
8 Coolies and Scandals: Skullduggery, Bankruptcy, and the Coolie Question after the Free Womb Law 259

PART IV PEOPLING THE COUNTRY OF THE FUTURE

9 At the Doorstep of Mass Migrations 293
Conclusion: The Afterlives of a Nineteenth-Century Paradigm 321

Bibliography 337
Index 385

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Figures

1.1 Slaveholding colonos: Fazenda Pombal in Colônia Leopoldina, c. 1820s–early 1830s *page* 43
2.1 Roughshod novelty: Warehouse storage area in Praia Grande (present-day Niterói) 53
3.1 Residency permit for foreigners, 1836 105
4.1 Projected land plots and canal works in Petrópolis (1846) 137
6.1 Distribution of ACC share ownership, 1857 202
7.1 Bocaiúva's propaganda to lure "enterprising" Americans 243
7.2 The *North America*, one of USBM's state-of-the-art steamers 247
7.3 Useful exemplars: A model of a Cuban arrendamiento contract furnished by Goicuria 250
8.1 Coolies between business competitors 274
8.2 The coolie question as political weapon: Sinimbú rechristened Chimnimbú 275
10.1 "Vision of the Future": The Transamazonian Highway 330

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Tables

3.1 Ratio of shares bought to number of votes per shareholder *page* 97
3.2 Status of colonos inscribed by the SPC, April 1838 112
3.3 Self-reported professions of Azorean migrants in Rio de Janeiro, c. 1828–1842 116
5.1 Chinese migrant entries in Rio de Janeiro, 1855–1856 175

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This book began as an effort to come to terms with a keyword – "colony" – and its many modern ramifications, particularly "colonization." Having been raised in a colony myself, disentangling the meanings of such terms required many moves, linguistic shifts, mental fortitude, and time away from loved ones. The road has been long, but I have been fortunate to count on the solidarity, shelter, and guidance of many along the way.

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Note on Currency and Language

The monetary unit in the Brazilian Empire was the *milréis* (1$000 reads "one milréis"). A thousand milréis (1:000$000) came up to one *conto*. Different punctuation marks were used as thousands' separators: 3.000:000$000 meant 3 million milréis or three thousand contos. Exchange rates varied greatly across the century, so I have preserved monetary values as they appear in sources.

Throughout the text, nobiliary categories such as duque, marquês, and visconde (duke, marquis, viscount) and government positions (minister, secretary, etc.) are uncapitalized, while proper names following the title preserve conventional capitalization as do cabinet portfolios for easier identification (Foreign Affairs, Empire, Justice, etc.).

For bibliographic references, I have kept original titles with few corrections. Quotes and proper names largely follow modern Brazilian Portuguese orthographic standards. I have used a simplified citation format for legislative debates, Brazilian laws, and government reports, including contemporary state abbreviations to identify provincial presidential reports (PA for Pará, MG for Minas Gerais, MA for Maranhão, etc.). Given that personal names in Portuguese tend to be longer than the norm in English, I adhere to the most common name for each character throughout the text but switch to noble titles after their date of conferral. Pedro de Araújo Lima, for instance, became the marquês de Olinda in 1854; hence, he is referred to as Olinda in chapters dealing with events after that year.

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Abbreviations

ACC	Associação Central de Colonização (Central Colonization Association, est. 1855)
CCB	Companhia Colonizadora da Bahia (est. 1835)
CIC	Conselho de Imigração e Colonização (est. 1938)
DRJ	*Diário do Rio de Janeiro*
FBC	Fundação Brasil Central (est. 1944)
HCV	Hamburger Colonisations-Verein (Hamburg Colonization Society, est. 1849)
IIFA	Imperial Instituto Fluminense de Agricultura (Rio de Janeiro Imperial Institute of Agriculture, est. 1860)
IHGB	Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (Historical and Geographic Institute of Brazil, est. 1838)
JC	*Jornal do Commercio*
SACIB	Sociedade de Agricultura, Comércio e Indústria da Bahia (Agricultural, Commercial and Industrial Society of Bahia, est. 1832)
SAIN	Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional (Society for the Aid of National Industry, est. 1831)
SCI	Sociedade Central de Imigração (Central Immigration Society, est. 1883)
SCT	Sociedade contra o Tráfico de Africanos e Promotora da Colonização e da Civilização dos Indígenas (Society for the End of the African Slave Trade and for the Promotion of Colonization and the Civilization of Indians, est. 1849)
SII	Sociedade Internacional de Imigração (International Immigration Society, est. 1866)

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SITA Sociedade Importadora de Trabalhadores Asiáticos (Society for the Importation of Asian Workers, est. 1871)
SPC Sociedade Promotora de Colonização (Society for the Promotion of Colonization, est. 1836)
USBM United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company (est. 1866)

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Maps

1 The Brazilian Empire around mid-nineteenth century

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2 Key Brazilian ports, provincial capitals, and colonies

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3 The Azores archipelago

4 German lands c. 1845

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5 World map c. 1850

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Introduction

What Is Colonization?

Brazilian statesmen, intellectuals, and businessmen began to marvel at the potent concept of "colonization" in the 1830s. Drawing from ideas about population growth articulated by thinkers as different as Thomas Malthus, Jeremy Bentham, and William Godwin, many Brazilians had come to understand the advantages of stoking emigration. The best informed among them stood in awe at the colonizing boosterism of radical political economists like Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Robert Torrens and held them up as paragons against more familiar old-regime precedents such as the convict colonies known as *degredos* or the Crown-sanctioned peopling drives settling Azoreans across Brazil. In doing so, they filtered new ideas on the nature and value of colonization through an improvement tradition variously shaped by the Portuguese enlightenment, Italian and French physiocracy, and even German cameralism. Yet, rather than abstract ideas in political economy, two practical conceits drove Brazilian elites' newfound interest in colonization: the belief that they could directly orchestrate migration and settlement processes, and that they themselves could do so at a profit.[1]

[1] Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy, the Empire of Free Trade and Imperialism, 1750–1850* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970). For a views that lessen the contrast between classical and radical political economists, see Donald Winch, *Classical Political Economy and Colonies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); Edward Kittrell, "The Development of the Theory of Colonization in English Classical Political Economy," *Southern Economic Journal* 31, no. 3 (1965): 189–206. On degredos, see Timothy Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550–1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

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In 1834, Carlos Augusto Taunay – a French expatriate in Brazil – offered an early articulation of these expectations when he addressed fellow improvers at the Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional (Society for the Aid of National Industry, SAIN). Taunay defined colonization as a "general word" that encompassed "innumerable social factors" that ultimately distilled themselves to one core element: emigration.[2] His address was filled with novelty for his audience, perfectly reflecting the dawning realization that colonization was an art to be perfected or a science to be systematized in order to recruit, transport, and settle specific populations. Significantly for his audience, too, Taunay characterized colonization as a wealth-generating enterprise and one best carried out by companies.

The profit motive was, indeed, a key to Taunay's vision for successfully peopling Brazil and, on paper at least, replacing enslaved labor. Rio de Janeiro, and the Brazilian Empire as a whole, ran on a steady supply of enslaved workers who remained the main target of British abolitionist pressures – something Taunay understood as soon as he set foot in the city in 1816. "Capitalists," he believed, would soon realize that enslaved Africans cost twice as much as free workers and thus "many new enterprises would choose to transport colonos or *engajados* (indentured workers) from Europe." Free workers would then boost agricultural production "in a way that [paid] the investment with notable interests." The government simply had to empower colonization companies "[to] speculate over … colono establishments" not only in order to replace slave labor but to import an additional – and cheaper – labor pool through a process that in and of itself delivered hefty windfalls.

In many ways, Taunay's vision came to pass. Thirty-odd years later, novelist Joaquim Manuel de Macedo quipped that colonization had become synonymous with illicit self-enrichment abetted by government. Despite the "thousands of contos" spent on it, the result, he claimed, was "an emigration of money from the National Treasury to the pockets of a happy few, who with good reason found that the colono-dimes (*colonos-patacões*) and the emigrant dollars (*onças emigrantes*) that populated

[2] Carlos Augusto [Charles Auguste] Taunay, *Algumas considerações sobre a colonisação como meio de coadjuvar a substituição do trabalho cativo pelo trabalho livre no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Americana de I. P. da Costa, 1834). Even though Taunay later claimed to have offered the first such definition of colonization, Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, a Portuguese philosopher and erstwhile diplomat in Berlin, furnished similar ideas in *Indicações da utilidade pública offerecidas às Assembleas legislativas do Império do Brasil e do Reino de Portugal* (Paris: Typ. de Casimir, 1834).

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their coffers were of great use to the country."[3] By then, colonization had become a mainstay of Brazilian political and social life. Amid successive international crises and internal turmoil, elites in Brazil had rallied around a concept whose appeal derived from its malleability as a political application as much as its promise of future dividends.

Certainly, by the 1860s much had changed domestically and abroad in economic and political terms. But colonization, as the recruiting, transporting, distributing, and settling of foreign migrants was generally referred to, only crystallized into its true form: a peopling scheme built on directed migrations and driven by opportunism and profit. As Macedo observed, colonization advocates very often reaped handsome rewards – both material and immaterial. Even when colonization companies appeared to fail, their directors and top shareholders rose through the ranks of imperial government, attaining parliamentary seats, senate appointments, ministries, honorific titles, and even subsidies for other endeavors.

As such, the business of colonization had a powerful impact in the development of the Brazilian Empire and of Brazil's future more generally. Colonization companies in particular became potent collective actors. By inciting migratory flows, these companies shaped the very form and function of the state. When they enticed authorities to approve the policies necessary to sustain migrations to Brazil, they spurred new regulatory powers into existence. Companies thus became ideal government partners, attuning statesmen to colonization and turning slaveholders into shareholders.

These nineteenth-century dynamics lay the building blocks for the impressive demographic transformation of Brazil by 1960. A century following Macedo's critical observations on the business of colonization, Brazil had entered the ranks of the world's most populous countries, huddling itself among the top 10 largest demographies for decades. Certainly, improvements in medical care and general social markers in the twentieth century facilitated this demographic leap by bolstering fertility rates and life expectancy estimates.[4] But, in the main, that population expansion rooted itself in those earlier orchestrated labor and

[3] Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, *Memórias do sobrinho do meu tio* (São Paulo: Penguin, 2011 [1867–1868]), 26–27.

[4] Thomas W. Merrick and Douglas Graham, *Population and Economic Development in Brazil: 1800 to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 30–48; United Nations Fund for Population Activities, "Brazil," *Population Policy Compendium* (July 1983): 1–7.

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peopling schemes that brought coerced, semi-coerced, and free migrants to Brazilian lands.

LABOR, COLONIZATION, AND THE "INVERSE PROPORTIONALITY THESIS"

Few terms elicit such self-assured historical definitions as colonization, which often summons images of helmeted conquistadors or, alternatively, inexorable processes of territorial and cultural domination. Often, colonization gets easily confounded with "settler colonialism" theories and their limited casts, which invariably pit "settlers" against indigenous peoples and only occasionally make space for third-party actors.[5] When historically understood, colonization eludes such simplification. Etymologically, the term is both complex and profound. Brazilian critic Alfredo Bosi traced the concept to archaic agrarian practices of productive occupancy and its cultural derivations: *colo*, *cultus*, *cultura*. Eventually, the model of the Roman colony inherited from classical antiquity structured aggressive peopling drives in Spanish America, although in Brazil colonization responded primarily to Portuguese imperial aims to increase population density rather than systematically organize settlement.[6]

Colonization bore even more intensively on the Luso-Brazilian world in the nineteenth century as political economists "consciously twist[ed] the word 'colony' into a new sense" that defined it as a potent governmental application and an alluring business pursuit.[7] Colonization became a concrete implement, a plan or scheme or policy to be applied rather than a diffuse dynamic or ideology of colonial occupation spread across centuries. Grounded contextual definitions such as Taunay's or Macedo's thus allow for a more exact historical profiling of colonization

[5] Patrick Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," *AHR* 106, no. 3 (2001): 866–905; Lorenzo Veracini, *The World Turned Inside Out: Settler Colonialism as a Political Idea* (London: Verso, 2021).

[6] Alfredo Bosi, "Colony, Cult, Culture," in *Brazil and the Dialectic of Colonization*, trans. Robert P. Newcomb (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015 [1992]), 1–48. On differences between Spanish and Portuguese colonization, see Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, "O semeador e o ladrilhador," in *Raízes do Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2014 [1936]), 111–165.

[7] Moses I. Finley, "Colonies: An Attempt at a Typology," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5, no. 26 (1976): 167–188.

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and its effects and help to flesh out this book's three overarching arguments.

The first argument is that modern migrations to Brazil were carefully orchestrated affairs that began much earlier than suggested by conventional narratives, picking up as early as the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815. These directed migrations thus started long before abolitionist initiatives gathered steam and population tallies or systematized port registries became the norm. Notably, this earlier era of irregular migrations at times meshed with the slave trade rather than compete against it. Remarkably, directed migrations also outlived slavery itself by close to a century after abolition. These complex, overlapping dynamics call out for a more thorough accounting of migratory processes and the factors that mobilized them.

From a colonial backwater decried as sparsely populated, Brazil became the very center of the Portuguese Empire in 1808 when, fleeing Napoléon's forces, the Bragança dynasty turned Rio de Janeiro into its new abode. As a result, from then and through the mid-1800s, slavers sustained one of the most rapidly expanding influxes of enslaved persons in the Atlantic, landing an estimated 1.7 million African prisoners in Brazil, a significant population input despite the high mortality rates of the middle passage and the first years of arrival. As British abolitionist campaigns intensified, slavery became the cornerstone of a fledgling Brazilian state after 1822, determining the rise and fall of cabinets and parties and eventually opening way for a bourgeoning internal slave trade and a more curated reproduction of an enslaved work force.[8]

Historians widely assume that a second major demographic input began around 1871, when a Free Womb Law confirmed an impending *falta de braços* (dearth of labor) prophesied by planters. This was, after

[8] Laird Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Robert Slenes, "The Brazilian Internal Slave Trade, 1850–1888: Regional Economies, Slave Experience, and the Politics of a Peculiar Market," in *The Chattel Principle*, ed. Walter Johnson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 325–370; slave trade arrivals are rounded from estimates in Slave Voyages, www.slavevoyages.org. On slavery's role in political development, see Ilmar Rohloff de Mattos, *O tempo saquarema: A formação do Estado Imperial* (Rio de Janeiro: Access, 1999); Jeffrey D. Needell, *The Party of Order: The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831–1871* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Tâmis Parron, *A política da escravidão no Império do Brasil, 1826–1850* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011); Rafael Marquese, Tâmis Parron, and Márcia Berbel, *Slavery and Politics: Brazil and Cuba, 1790–1850* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016).

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all, the beginning of a gradual emancipation process. Significantly, the first national census completed in 1872 facilitated a more consistent accounting of both enslaved persons and foreigners present in Brazil at the time. Not only did this inaugural census dramatically reflect the foreign-born free population compared to the number of enslaved persons at the time, it illuminated the sheer scale of the migrations that followed. From 1872 until 1914, Brazilian ports welcomed at least 2,685,837 foreign arrivals, and, after a lull induced by global war, another 1,112,751 arrived by 1930. This massive influx transformed Brazil into the fourth largest receiving society in the Americas during the era of transatlantic mass migrations.[9]

Because migrant entries climbed after 1871 and peaked closely after abolition, it is generally understood that foreign migrants came to Brazil as part of a labor substitution process. Migrations, from this perspective, rose as a function of the dwindling ranks of the enslaved. This is a scholarly conclusion that I refer to as the "inverse proportionality thesis" first articulated by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda and Caio Prado Jr., two São Paulo intellectuals who unwittingly applied historical colonization processes from their home state to craft sweeping understandings of Brazil as a whole. Later historians inherited and updated their views in the 1980s and '90s, adding that a generalized penchant for whitening guided planters' migration promotion endeavors from the start.[10]

However, while useful and partly accurate, these approaches have often depended on limited evidence and incurred in misinterpretations. For instance, while São Paulo did welcome record numbers of migrants after 1880, it is not true that it was the leading colonization pioneer

[9] Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, *Brasil: 500 anos de povoamento* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 2000), 225. For background on the era of mass migrations, see José Moya, "A Continent of Immigrants: Postcolonial Shifts in the Western Hemisphere," *HAHR* 86, no. 1 (2006): 1–28.

[10] Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, "Prefácio do tradutor," in Thomas Davatz, *Memórias de um colono no Brasil (1850)* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1980 [1941]), 11–45; Caio Prado Júnior, *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1942); Beatriz Maria Lazzari, *Imigração e ideologia. Reação de parlamento brasileiro à política de colonização e imigração, 1850–1875* (Porto Alegre: EST/UCS, 1980); Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 125–171; Luiz Aranha do Lago, *Da escravidão ao trabalho livre: Brasil, 1550–1900* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2014). On immigration as whitening, see Célia Maria Marinho de Azevedo, *Onda negra, medo branco. O negro no imaginário das elites–século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1987); Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).

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among provinces nor that its model became hegemonic across the Brazilian Empire. Moreover, while the racism of many planters and statesmen who advocated colonization is obviously clear, besides inconsistent ad hoc contractual stipulations, statutory racial restrictions were enacted – and then only briefly – exclusively at the tail end of the century. Thus, it is important to reexamine the conventional storyboard of colonization to identify the other factors, statutory and otherwise, that directly shaped the course of events.

By examining the little understood migration patterns established prior to the 1872 census, this book advances a different and more nuanced narrative. It illuminates the many changing contexts and efforts of the pioneering for-profit colonization companies to untether migration from mechanistic understandings that reduce it to a late-century labor substitution project. In doing so, my aim is to provide a historical understanding of colonization as a policy expedient, a sociopolitical process, and a niche market that indelibly shaped the Brazilian Empire and established the conditions for Brazil's demographic leap.

COLONIZATION AND GOVERNMENT FORMATION

Peopling for Profit's second and third main arguments revolve around the significance of colonization as a heretofore underrecognized for-profit, company-making pursuit with significant implications in post-independence political development. During the early and mid-nineteenth century, directed migrations became a business, and one whose execution Brazilian statesmen deferred on and off to private companies, in which process the government developed varying degrees and modes of oversight. Indeed, as a powerful feedback loop between migrations and government formation evolved, it provided openings for private entrepreneurs and, in time, corporate actors to court government favors in exchange for migration recruitment and transport services. As a result, an avid niche market in migrants emerged at particular junctions in the nineteenth century that served government interests while cultivating enormous profit for shareholders. Directed migrations underscored by profit motives and organized variously by emergent networks of colonization agents and companies gradually, if haphazardly, gave shape to the large-scale reception capacities that eventually facilitated the era of mass migrations in the final decades of the nineteenth century.

This book's third and closely related argument is that migrations imprinted themselves in Brazilian political development profoundly and

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by accretion as they converged under the general rubric of colonization by the mid-nineteenth century. Due to its versatility, colonization embedded itself in the fabric of the Brazilian Empire, dovetailing with old-regime policies of *povoamento*, or peopling, of the kind long practiced by the Portuguese Crown and perfected during the reformist era headed by minister Sebastião José Carvalho e Melo, marquês de Pombal (1750–1777). Practices of populating imperial hinterlands came roaring back after 1808, in response to defensive needs, fiscal ambitions, and a broadening repertoire of improvement ideas meant to "perfect" agriculture and industry.[11] Quickly, these imperatives opened the way for statesmen and foreign entrepreneurs who understood that they could exploit privilege-seeking dynamics characteristic of old-regime societies both to meet government needs and reap personal rewards. Once independent from Portugal, the political elites of the new Brazilian Empire (1822–1889) began to learn from prior directed migration efforts and implemented those lessons as they treaded an administrative learning curve of managing populations. Theirs was a meandering and often jagged learning curve, but the twists and turns in this governmental learning process projected distinct attributes onto a fledgling Brazilian state grappling with "colonization" as a catch-all term that encompassed the planned recruitment, transport, and/or settlement of specific populations by the 1820s and '30s.

Just as a "policy of slavery" congealed after independence, a "colonization policy" also crystallized in the Brazilian Empire. And it adapted to continuous crises and underwent numerous permutations as the century wore on, informing governmental capacity-building in ways that legal and diplomatic constraints prevented slavery from doing.[12] Scheme by scheme and plan by plan, colonization became a tested script, domestically and internationally adaptable. Initially, it obtained its thrust from the twin forces of royal beneficence and business ambitions but quickly grew to depend on global crises that diversified the migrant pools on offer for colonization enterprises. While in dynamic engagement with events overseas, colonization also grew in counterpoint to and sometimes overlapped with slavery. As slave trafficking expanded up to 1850, Brazil also received more *colonos*, which I define broadly as migrants, settlers, and/or

[11] Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*; Teresa Cribelli, *Industrial Forests and Mechanical Marvels: Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[12] Parron, *A política da escravidão*.

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foreign-born workers according to the multiple meanings given to the term by nineteenth-century observers.[13] This emergent market in migrants, which I refer to as the colono trade, grew larger and more sophisticated in the following decades, generating opportunities for private gain that complemented other elite sources of profit, including slave-based investments.

As an alluring business pursuit bridging governmental aims and private interests, colonization had a formative function in the politics of the Brazilian Empire on many different scales. In terms of political culture, colonization reinforced old-regime petitionary dynamics in the absence of adequate commercial legislation up to 1850. Gradually, it became a pervasive conceit among political elites by surpassing partisan divides over slavery and eventually generating considerable consensus around the value of directed migrations. Colonization thus transcended planters' labor concerns to articulate understandings about the function of the state, the role of political elites in producing entitlements to state resources, and the place of private business in reaping benefits from such access. Colonization's many crises also led to innovation by spurring the creation of new government bureaus and even an entirely new Agriculture ministry by 1860. At a more granular level, colonization also forced new policies directly pertinent to migrant transports and settlement but also many others dealing with issues as varied as the management of indigenous groups, commercial legislation on companies, land policies, work contract rules, and policing mechanisms.

In both the short and long term, colonization weighed on the formation and evolution of political elites themselves. Brazilians and their foreign agents enacted colonization as a policy expedient and hailed it as a political panacea, even though the colonization project and companies very often plunged into logistical chaos and political nightmares. And yet, despite those frequent lapses, colonization seemed to win the day. Companies wound down, no doubt. But their benefits and perks continued to rain down on their leading empresarios, as I refer to colonization promoters and company-men in the likeness of the speculators

[13] This purposefully encompassing definition of colono extends to coolies and the internal migrants known as national colonos as well. Colono differs from "colonist" or "colonizer," which define emigrants as agents of empire. Colono referred to foreign arrivals for the early part of the century without implying colonial subjugation and had strong associations with land occupancy even though foreign migrants in urban areas were also called colonos.

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involved in the land-grants process in the Mexican state of Coahuila y Texas in the 1820s and '30s.[14]

Colonization, then, burnished political images and furnished politicians with valuable social and cultural capital (in addition to hard capital from company dividends) to cement upward political trajectories. Very often, political hopefuls found professional or political advancement via appointments, elections, or general promotion through the ranks of the imperial bureaucracy closely following their experience at the head of a colonization scheme or company. With time, however, senescent politicians, and their sons and protégés, saturated political seats and even the bureaucratic positions that embodied, in the words of historian José Murilo de Carvalho, "everybody's vocation." Despite diminishing opportunities for advancement within the imperial state, colonization still provided an escape valve for emergent entrepreneurial elites composed of urban professionals who did not find space at the trough of state benevolence but nonetheless crafted opportunities of their own.[15]

Brazil was not alone. Similar dynamics unfolded around the globe in old-world empires and American republics alike. From the Russian steppes or the Great Plains to the broadleaf forests of New Zealand or Chile's lakes regions, from the Canadian taiga to the drylands of French Algeria or Mexico's far north, and from the Mongolian borderlands of the Qing Empire to the British antipodes of South Australia, orchestrated migration and peopling processes took root everywhere that evinced new forms of statecraft – and violence – powered by the shared ambitions of government officials, consuls, emigration agents, and entrepreneurs. Brazil stood out among these emergent migrant societies because it opted to become an imperial monarchy after independence from Portugal and because it preserved slavery until 1888. And yet, as an American empire of its own and a slave society no less, Brazil pursued colonization at a far greater scale and with much more ambition than neighboring Latin American republics and with a zeal comparable to that of other empires.

[14] Andrés Reséndez, *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800–1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[15] Roderick Barman and Jean Barman, "The Role of the Law Graduate in the Political Elite of Imperial Brazil," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 18, no. 4 (1976): 423–449; José Murilo de Carvalho, *A construção da ordem: A elite política imperial/ Teatro de sombras: A política imperial* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003 [1980/1988]), 121–168.

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UNSETTLED REVOLUTIONS: IMPERIAL PARALLELS AND GLOBAL COUNTERPOINTS

Selecting and transporting specific groups of people to distant sites, whether inland or overseas, became a fad among political elites around the world in the nineteenth century. Empires and republics alike gravitated away from criminal banishment practices and poor relief establishments toward intensive forms of colonization often anchored in the "associative emigration" that led Saint-Simonians to settle along the Gulf of Mexico, Italian republicans to join pro-independence armies in the Río de la Plata, and pupils of Charles Fourier, one of the utopians castigated by Karl Marx, to move to southern Brazil. Meanwhile, new coercive labor regimes transplanted thousands. Jamaican Maroons were "repatriated" to Sierra Leone, Liberated Africans transferred from Rio to Trinidad, Mayan rebels deported to Cuba after the Caste War, and Chinese laborers tagged as coolies embarked to the Americas during the Taiping rebellion.[16] At the same time, globe-trotting employees of the Russian-American Company called port in Rio or Desterro on their way to headquarters in Sitka, and in passing brought news of tsar Nicholas I's military colonies in the Transcaucasian borderlands with the Ottoman Empire.[17]

Indeed, several empires displayed a broad repertoire of planned migrations and settlement modes instructive for Brazilians increasingly

[16] Lloyd Jenkins, "Fourierism, Colonization and Discourses of Associative Emigration," *Area* 35, no. 1 (2003): 84–91; Rafe Blaufarb, *Bonapartists in the Borderlands: French Exiles and Refugees on the Gulf Coast, 1815–1835* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2005); Alessandro Bonvini, "L'avventura nel Nuovo Mondo. Cospiratori, rivoluzionari e veterani napoleonici nell'indipendenza della Nuova Granada, 1810–1830," *Contemporanea: rivista di storia dell'800 a del '900* 21, no. 1 (2018): 3–26; Laurent Vidal, *Eles sonharam um outro mundo: História atlântica dos fundadores do falanstério do Saí (1841–1846)*, trans. Gilson de Souza (São Paulo: Edusp, 2019); Beatriz G. Mamigonian, "In the Name of Freedom: Slave Trade Abolition, the Law and the Brazilian Branch of the African Emigration Scheme (Brazil-British West Indies, 1830s–1850s)," *Slavery and Abolition* 30, no. 1 (2009): 41–66.

[17] Alexander Bitis and Janet Hartley, "The Russian Military Colonies in 1826," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 78, no. 2 (2000): 321–330; Nicholas Breyfogle, "Colonization by Contract: Russian Settlers, South Caucasian Elites, and the Dynamics of Nineteenth-Century Tsarist Imperialism," in *Extending the Borders of Russian History*, ed. Marsha Siefert (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), 143–166; Ilya Vinkovetsky, "The Russian-American Company as a Colonial Contractor for the Russian Empire," in *Imperial Rule*, ed. Alexei Miller and Alfred Rieber (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004), 161–176.

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connected to the wider world. Brazilian statesmen found the most audacious exemplars of colonization enterprises in British colonies in the Cape of Good Hope, the Canadas, and Oceania. Their close attention to and even emulation of these "settler revolution" frontlines have led historians to generalize that Brazil remained a kind of "adopted dominion" of an emergent "Anglo" world order in a variation of decades-old interpretations positing the existence of British informal imperialism over the Brazilian Empire.[18] After surviving the market crash of 1825, Brazil did become the third largest market for British manufactures and Britain's sixth largest supplier of raw goods by 1830, in part as a result of preferential commercial treaties between the two countries. But Brazilians were no mere cogs in an expanding "free-trade imperialism." Rather, they actively and purposefully learned from British business along two tracks. On the one hand, they cultivated an instructive firsthand engagement with British mining firms operating in Minas Gerais, which provided them with a crash course in shareholding and regulating companies that ultimately served them for colonization experiments of their own. On the other hand, Brazilians paid heed to colonization companies in Canada, South Australia, and New Zealand with an eye to replicating them. As some of these enterprises benefited from British workers expelled by the Poor Laws, Brazilians also contemplated how colonization companies could absorb philanthropic institutions modeled after Dutch reformatories and work colonies and the "domestic colonies" that later sprang in the British Isles and elsewhere.[19]

British colonization paragons enthralled Brazilian officials though not as much as the record migrant entries attained in the United States. Brazilians had reasons for seeing a closer model in the United States, where migration policies also blended with forms of population control

[18] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 109–110; John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *The Economic History Review* 6, no. 1 (1953): 1–15; Desmond Platt, "The Imperialism of Free Trade: Some Reservations," *The Economic History Review* 21, no. 2 (1968): 296–306.

[19] Ron Harris, "Political Economy, Interest Groups, Legal Institutions, and the Repeal of the Bubble Act in 1825," *The Economic History Review* 50, no. 4 (1997): 675–696; Fábio Carlos da Silva, *Barões do ouro e aventureiros britânicos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2012); Barbara Arneil, *Domestic Colonies: The Turn Inward to Colonies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). For a recent study on the social history of many of these British companies, see Matthew Birchall, "Company Colonisation and the Settler Revolution, 1820–1840" (PhD diss., Oxford University, 2021).

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targeting homeless, free Black, and indigenous people.[20] But Brazil remained a heavily centralized monarchy and, as such, concentrated migration governance in Rio much earlier than the US centralized migration regulations in the federal government and over a significantly vaster surface area at the time. US states like New York or Massachusetts preserved local control of entry and expulsion rules until the *Passenger cases* of 1849 began to lose their grip and open way for federalization of migrant controls. By then, the Brazilian Empire had firmly anchored regulatory powers over incomers and their circulation in offices directly appointed by the central executive and had undergone a process of bureaucratic specialization resulting in colonization directories, special commissions in the Chamber of Deputies, and newly created ministerial sections.

Colonization for Brazil was not just a conceit modeled on lessons learned from other empires. It was also part of a broader series of colonization efforts across Latin America and the Caribbean that offer productive points of comparison. The Brazilian Empire surpassed its Latin American counterparts in the sheer scale and uninterruptedness of its colonization agenda but also produced intriguing connections to those other scenarios. Brazil, for instance, quickly outdid its southern neighbors when the speculative colonization pursuits of Bernardino Rivadavia and others in the Provincias Unidas de la Plata screeched to a halt with the rise of Juan Manuel de Rosas's protectionist Argentinian Confederation (1829–1851). Migrations and colonization efforts resumed after 1852 with the rise of leaders with close relations to Brazil, like Justo José de Urquiza, who fought next to Brazil in the Ejército Grande to topple Rosas and then organized colonies in northern Argentina, or Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, an exile of the "generation of 1837," who visited Brazil's royal colony of Petrópolis before he began writing about emigration to the Río de la Plata and establishing agricultural colonies. During their respective presidencies, Urquiza's and Sarmiento's Brazil-inspired initiatives cleared way for Nicolás de Avellaneda's immigration and colonization law of 1876, an opening salvo for mass

[20] Aristide Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Nicholas Guyatt, "'An Impossible Idea?' The Curious Career of Internal Colonization," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, no. 2 (2014): 234–263; Kunal M. Parker, *Making Foreigners: Immigration and Citizenship Law in America, 1600–2000* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 81–115; Raymond Cohn, *Mass Migration under Sail: European Immigration to the Antebellum United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

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migrations.[21] Sarmiento also influenced colonization in Chile, writing pro-emigration tracts with Göttingen University professor Dr. Wappäus that the Chilean government translated to Spanish in advance of Vicente Pérez Rosales's settlement schemes in the southern province of Llanquihue.[22]

Meanwhile, in Gran Colombia, early experiments with Irish mercenaries by Simón Bolívar set a precedent for unsuccessful attempts to recruit immigrants from the United States and the British Isles. Colonization aspirations remained unfulfilled until railways and coffee dragged internal colonos with them.[23] Mexico, in contrast, saw colonization evolve into a speculative market in ways reminiscent of Brazil. After 1821, adventurers like Tadeo Ortiz organized for-profit and ultimately disastrous colonization drives for the Tehuantepec isthmus, although his efforts paled in comparison to those pursued by the likes of Mexican independence hero Lorenzo de Zavala, who cofounded the Galveston Bay and Texas Land

[21] Nicolás de Avellaneda, *Estudio sobre las leyes de tierras públicas* (Buenos Aires: J. Roldán, 1915); Julio Djenderedjian, "La colonización agrícola en Argentina, 1850–1900: Problemas y desafíos de un complejo proceso de cambio productivo en Santa Fe y Entre Ríos," *América Latina en la historia económica* 30 (2008): 127–157; Laura Duguine, Sol Lanteri, and Victoria Pedrotta, "En busca de la tierra prometida. Modelos de colonización estatal en la frontera sur bonaerense durante el siglo XIX," *Nuevo Mundo/Mundos Nuevos* (2012); Eduardo José Míquez, *Las tierras de los ingleses en Argentina, 1870–1914* (Buenos Aires: Teseo, 2016).

[22] E. Wappäus, *Deutsche Auswanderung und Colonisation. Erste Fortsetzung, Deutsche Auswanderung nach Süd-Amerika (Rio de la Plata)* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'schen Buchhandlung, 1848); Domingo F. Sarmiento, "Tentativas de colonización en el Río de la Plata. Año 1825" [1849], "Inmigración en Chile" [1849], "Las colonias agrícolas" [1855], in *Obras Completas Vol. XXIII* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de La Matanza, 2001), 35–108, 241–280; and *Emigración alemana al Rio de la Plata*, trans. Guillermo Hilliger (Santiago: Imprenta de Julio Belin, 1851); Vicente Pérez Rosales, *Memoria sobre emigración, inmigración i colonización* (Santiago: Imprenta de Julio Belin, 1854). On Chilean colonization, see George Young, *Germans in Chile: Immigration and Colonization, 1849–1914* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1974); Aime Campos, "Territorial Conflicts, Bureaucracy, and State Formation in Chile's Southern Frontera, 1866–1912" (PhD diss., UC San Diego, 2022); Romina Green Rioja, "Land and the Language of Race: State Colonization and the Privatization of Indigenous Lands in Araucanía, Chile (1871–1916)," *The Americas* 80 no. 1 (2023): 69–99; Alberto Harambour Ross, *Soberanías fronterizas: Estados y capital en la colonización de Patagonia (Argentina y Chile, 1830–1922)* (Valdivia: Ediciones UACh, 2019).

[23] Moisés Enrique Rodríguez, *Freedom's Mercenaries: British Volunteers in the Wars of Independence of Latin America* (Lanham: Hamilton Books, 2006); Ernesto Bassi, "The 'Franklins of Colombia': Immigration Schemes and Hemispheric Solidarity in the Making of a Civilized Colombian Nation," *JLAS* 50, no. 3 (2018): 673–701; Hermes Tovar Pinzón, *Que nos tengan en cuenta. Colonos, empresarios y aldeas: Colombia, 1800–1900* (Colombia: Colcultura, 1995).

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Company to colonize the province of Coahuila and Texas with "Anglo" settlers and ended up contributing to the Texas secession war of 1835. Interestingly, colonization staged a comeback in 1864 during the Second Mexican Empire headed by Maximilian I, who had also previously traveled to Brazil and witnessed the colonization efforts of his cousin, Pedro II.[24]

Lastly, while not independent, Cuba and Puerto Rico – the two remaining Spanish colonies in the Caribbean after 1810 – shared important features with Brazilian colonization, starting with the benefits offered for Spaniards or Catholic subjects to settle in Puerto Rico in 1815 and in Cuba in 1817.[25] However, in the 1830s, Peninsular officials' fearful of insular overrepresentation in a new constitutional assembly clamped down on the vibrant colono trade from the Balearic and Canary Islands. Over the following decade, colono arrivals declined due to a combination of draconian measures like the 1849 *régimen de la libreta* (workbook regime) that policed dayworkers' whereabouts in Puerto Rico and new regulations in Cuba that drastically cut *canario* arrivals by the 1850s. Special laws stipulations in successive Spanish constitutions continued to drown out Puerto Rican and Cuban representatives' pleas for the importation of white workers, while Brazil, in turn, experienced a steady influx of Azorean colonos.[26]

[24] Tadeo Ortiz de Ayala, *Resumen de la estadística del Imperio Mexicano* (México: Imprenta de Doña Herculana del Villar, 1822); Guy Thomson, "La colonización en el departamento de Acayucán, 1814–1834," *Historia Mexicana* 24, no. 2 (1974): 253–298; *Address to the Reader of the Documents Relating to the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company* (New York: Hopkins & Son, 1831); Lorenzo de Zavala, *Viage a los Estados-Unidos del Norte de América* (Paris: Decourchant, 1834), 139–152; Luis Aboites Aguilar, *Norte precario: poblamiento y colonización en México, 1760–1940* (México: Colegio de México, 1995); Reséndez, *Changing National Identities*; David Burden, "*La Idea Salvadora*: Immigration and Colonization Politics in Mexico, 1821–1857" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2005); Evelyne Sánchez, "Los proyectos de colonización bajo el segundo imperio y el fortalecimento del estado mexicano," *Historia Mexicana* 63, no. 2 (2013): 689–743.

[25] César Guivens Flores, "La Real Cédula de Gracias de 1815 para Puerto Rico, instrumento jurídico y de reformas y cambios en la primera mitad del siglo XIX," *Anuario Mexicano de Historia del Derecho* 8 (1996): 171–187; Francisco Scarano, "Inmigración y estructura de clases: los hacendados de Ponce, 1815–1845," in *Inmigración y clases sociales en el Puerto Rico del siglo XIX*, ed. Francisco Scarano (Río Piedras: Editorial Huracán, 1981), 21–66; *Real Cédula de 21 de octubre de 1817, sobre aumentar la población blanca en la isla de Cuba, impresa en español, inglés y francés* (Habana: Imprenta del Gobierno y Capitanía General, 1828).

[26] Un Emigrado Cubano, *Información sobre reformas en Cuba y Puerto-Rico celebrada en Madrid en 1866 y 67, por los representantes de ambas islas* (New York: Imprenta de

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Colonization embedded the Brazilian Empire in a complex global constellation of ideas and practices during momentous political transformations. Even though historians of empires seem to relegate post-independence Brazil as old-regime flotsam, colonization demonstrates that Brazil should be examined on a par with other nineteenth-century empires. Indeed, its embrace of an internal colonization powered by directed migrations from overseas mirrored and marched in lockstep with the colonization initiatives of other world empires as they scrambled to reinvent themselves in the first half of the nineteenth century.[27] Similarly, while scholars of Latin America brush Brazil aside as a peculiar exception in a sea of republics, the Brazilian Empire offered its neighbors a towering example of colonization as a feasible enterprise, establishing sporadic but meaningful connections to key individuals from Argentina, Chile, Cuba, or Mexico enmeshed in networks that took a page out of the Brazilian colonization playbook.

IN THE COMPANY OF COMPANIES

If the Brazilian Empire rose above its hemispheric counterparts in the rate and magnitude of its engagement with colonization projects, it did so thanks to the succession of colonization companies convincing officials and shareholders of their worth. Interestingly, however, for most of the period under study, companies in Brazil were not well defined. Corporate rules only arrived late and in piecemeal fashion, playing catch-up with practices already afoot. As in the United Kingdom and the United States, Brazilian entrepreneurs selected from a simple menu of business organizational forms. Among their options, the limited-liability corporation with transferable stock known as *sociedade anônima* became the standard after the first proper company law in 1849.[28] A year later, the new

Hallet y Breen, 1877 [1868]), vol. 1, 155–215; Josep Fradera, *Imperial Nation: Citizens and Subjects in the British, French, Spanish, and American Empires* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 127–153; Juan Poey, *Informes sobre el proyecto de colonización africana y sobre derechos de los azúcares* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Compañía de Impresores y Libreros, 1862); Consuelo Naranjo Orovio, "La otra Cuba, colonización blanca y diversificación agrícola," *Contrastes: Revista de Historia* 12 (2001–2003): 5–20.

[27] Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Christopher A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780–1830* (London: Longman, 1989).

[28] Mariana Pargendler, "Politics in the Origins: The Making of Corporate Law in Nineteenth-century Brazil," *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 60, no. 3

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Commercial Code made available another option, the joint-stock form known as the *sociedade em comandita*, first crafted in France in 1807.[29] But these statutes did not produce immediate normative effects. Brazilians continued to employ various forms of business organization as suited them. Some went through the onerous process of incorporating companies by charter. Others avoided the costly fees and wait times associated with incorporation, opting instead to operate without liability protections. Still others adopted business partnerships with joint-stock attributes without formally incorporating. The result was a rich, though underregulated, landscape for incubating Brazilian companies.

Legally nimble, companies in Brazil emerged with unprecedented force even before the mid-century as a new type of collective political actor and as agile government partners for specific tasks.[30] They were shrewd and incredibly adaptive as entities nominally geared to the public good but heavily reliant on personalist forms of patronage and political influence. Among the many companies established between 1820 and 1860, when more restrictive incorporation rules kicked in, colonization companies distinguished themselves by a broader remit than the more numerous insurance firms that dotted the landscape.[31] While the latter offered specific services, colonization companies allowed government to outsource an expanding list of tasks – from populating hinterlands to conscripting specialized labor for roadworks.

Brazilian statesmen eventually harnessed companies to advance their vision of empire-wide prosperity, exploiting their autonomy as a liability-free, trial-and-error means to develop migration-related policies. A revolving door between the political establishment and companies

(2012): 805–850; Anne Hanley, *Native Capital: Financial Institutions and Economic Development in São Paulo, Brazil, 1850–1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 61–68; William Summerhill, *Inglorious Revolution: Political Institutions, Sovereign Debt, and Financial Underdevelopment in Imperial Brazil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

[29] Charles Freedman, *Joint-Stock Enterprise in France, 1807–1867: From Privileged Company to Modern Corporation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Roderick Barman, "Business and Government in Imperial Brazil: The Experience of Viscount Mauá," *JLAS* 13, no. 2 (1981): 239–264.

[30] For a classic work in business history that takes 1848 as a starting point, see Maria Bárbara Levy, *A indústria do Rio de Janeiro através de suas sociedades anônimas* (Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 1994).

[31] IHGB-(ou), Lata 160, doc. 3-Relação das sociedades anônimas no Brasil, 1810–1884 (undated).

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ensured a seamless transit between both spheres and a symbiosis that could often result in smooth company operations and novel public policies. With time, the constant traffic between colonization endeavors and political work standardized directed migrations. Government figures paid attention to errors past and devised regulations to lessen government risks, quell international criticism of migrant treatment in Brazil, expedite reception mechanisms, and distribute colonos according to perceived needs.

However, while these companies remained capacious, they were self-interested creatures. As a collective actor, a company exceeded the sum of its parts. Incorporated or not, it tapped into other collective forms of social organization such as kinship networks, factions, parties, and scientific associations but was never pigeonholed by any one of them. These enterprises thus leveraged several channels of patronage to the benefit of not one interest group but several at once. Concomitantly, the wealth and political capital of leading company men – often statesmen themselves – worked to the advantage of both company membership and principals. Company organizers mustered considerable funds to launch their enterprises under limited oversight.

Notably, most colonization companies did not last long. Yet, far from failures, they remained full-bodied vessels of collective action, organizing subscribers around profit-oriented activities and across class and party lines. Moreover, they consistently landed their patrons and principals considerable benefits, even when dividends dried up. In principle, regardless of their financial outcomes, company runs reinforced grandees' prestige, consolidating the social rank of the most powerful Brazilian shareholders by means of an expanding membership. In other words, they galvanized existing patterns of wealth and power accumulation in ways that remain challenging to document.[32]

[32] Mark Freeman, Robert Pearson, and James Taylor, *Shareholder Democracies? Corporate Governance in Britain and Ireland before 1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Eric Hilt and Katharine O'Banion, "The Limited Partnership in New York, 1822–1858: Partnerships Without Kinship," *The Journal of Economic History* 69, no. 3 (2009): 615–645; Eric Hilt and Jacqueline Valentine, "Democratic Dividends: Stockholding, Wealth, and Politics in New York, 1791–1826," *The Journal of Economic History* 72, no. 2 (2012): 332–363; Eric Hilt, "Shareholder Voting Rights in Early American Corporations," *Business History* 55, no. 4 (2013): 620–635; Timothy L. Alborn, *Conceiving Companies: Joint-Stock Politics in Victorian England* (London: Routledge, 1998).

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The Brazilian rash of company-making gave rise to what I call shareholder oligarchies, that is, companies whose structure mirrored and strengthened patrimonial hierarchies. Higher-ups with noble titles and government posts took up management positions and majority shares, blurring the lines between management and ownership, while also bending ostensibly "democratic" corporate features such as graduated voting to their own benefit. The impact of this significant facet of companies' internal function has remained elusive to contemporary scholarship. Historians have certainly noted the role of a shared education and participation in appointed government offices as key aspects in the socialization of Brazil's imperial elites. They have also analyzed the political impact of patrimonial corporations like the National Guard and of "interest groups" such as the commercial associations organized in Rio, Bahia, and Pernambuco in the 1830s. Yet, comparatively, colonization companies – and colonization more generally – have failed to receive similar attention in spite of their recurrence, pervasiveness, and political work throughout Brazil's imperial period.[33] This book enhances such scholarly explorations by offering a new and closer understanding of the colonization companies so popular among nineteenth-century Brazilian elites. These novel enterprises became significant means of elite socialization that not only surmounted Portuguese legacies but structured new forms of social privilege and a bureaucratic "vocation" in the fledgling Brazilian state for generations.

* * *

The narrative that follows offers a descriptive analysis of colonization as it transformed from an old-regime peopling paradigm into a malleable government tool and a business realm of its own. It details colonization's

[33] For two useful, but different, approaches to patrimonial dynamics, see Raymundo Faoro, *Os donos do poder: formação do patronato politico brasileiro* (São Paulo: Globo, 2012 [1957]): and Richard Graham, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990). See also Jeffrey A. Winters, *Oligarchy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Carvalho, *A construção da ordem*, 63–168; Andrew Kirkendall, *Class Mates: Male Student Culture and the Making of a Political Class in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Fernando Uricoechea, *The Patrimonial Foundations of the Brazilian Bureaucratic State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Eugene Ridings, *Business Interest Groups in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

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arc from the 1808 arrival in Brazil of the Portuguese state apparatus to the decade following the Brazilian Empire's downfall in 1889 and then offers a final reflection on colonization's afterlives well into the twentieth century.

Derived from research in over twenty-five archival sites across Brazil and in Portugal, the United States, and England, the storyline offered has a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it chronicles the events that gradually built colonization as a business and political application across local, regional, imperial, and international scales. Profit-seeking behaviors occurred at each of those levels and, at each, crises also foiled them. Meanwhile, companies perfected their ability to transit between each of these registers of scale and, in that process, contributed to state capacities that can be variously understood as tutelary, infrastructural, and governmental.[34] Under the general mantle of peopling, colonization served as the building block of armies, cities, industries, and revenues. It purveyed recruits, forced lawmakers to codify landed property, informed state tutelage over indigenous settlements, weighed in on slave-trade suppression and commercial treaties, and contributed to the expansion of the diplomatic corps.

That colonization compelled governmental reforms often by private means suggests how state power and the pursuit of private profit were mutually constitutive. That it gilded the already privileged lives of its top exponents further underscores its role in perpetuating inequalities and enforcing domination by the few. As important as the individual lives of migrants are for historical analysis, this book centers on the statesmen, businessmen, agents, scientists, and intellectuals who orchestrated migrations and in doing so turned them into profitable pursuits with meaningful impacts on government formation and on Brazilian society as a whole.

Historians have tried hard to elucidate the dynamics of colonization, but challenges abound. In practical terms, the study of colonization presents archival difficulties. In contrast to the study of slavery, colonization cannot be traced to a singular or precise government office like the

[34] Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87–104; Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power. Vol 2: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012 [1993]).

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Justice or Foreign Affairs ministries that handled liberated Africans or slave trade diplomacy. Nor is it anchored by conventional documents that shed light on its private dimensions, as wills or manumission letters help to do with slavery. In conceptual terms, the best studies recognize the development of migration and colonization policies but generally circumscribe these to the latter half of the nineteenth century and to Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo, thereby narrowing the phenomenon's true temporal and geographical scope.[35] Furthermore, scholars have tried to taxonomize colonization by cleanly delineating presumably distinct modalities (provincial vs. central state-led, or state-led vs. private colonies, for instance) and by establishing periodizations determined by normative legal statutes such as the Land Law of 1850 or the Ordinance for State Colonies of 1867, which, presumably, dictated how colonization dynamics unfolded after their enacment.

This book, by contrast, offers a textured examination of colonization's empire-wide nature from the early nineteenth century and brings into relief its different modalities and statutory benchmarks as products of, not the parting lines for, political showdowns, social processes, and rapacious business pursuits. The granular approach adopted here also unveils colonization's influence on the iterative nature of the post-independent state, from the improvisational state crafted by João VI's use of peopling as part of his political balancing acts to the Praetorian state in which Pedro I used colonization to cut himself in Napoléon's cloth by mustering his own mercenary troops. Colonization's weight in this iterative nature is just as clearly seen in the investor state of the Regency that replaced Pedro I, which outsourced colonization affairs to private enterprises. It is also seen in the opportunistic state of the post-1850 period, during which ministers like the marquês de Olinda relied on closing windows of opportunity to define watershed policies to regulate migration and settlement activities. These iterations would eventually give

[35] Heloísa Bergamaschi and Loraine Slomp Giron, *Colônia: Um conceito controverso* (Caxias do Sul: EDUCS, 1996); Paulo Pinheiro Machado, *A política de colonização do Império* (Porto Alegre: UFRGS Editora, 1999); Elda González Martínez, *La inmigración esperada: La política migratoria brasileña desde João VI hasta Getúlio Vargas* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003); Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 34–46. In addition to this last title, for a useful migration history survey with a broad perspective, see Luís Reznik, ed. *História da inmigração no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2020).

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out to the sub-contracting state at century's end, which facilitated mass migrations by allowing reception centers' service providers and the shipping companies behind what I refer to as a bourgeoning "passengerism" to take over colono transport initiatives that the Brazilian government had once carried out by itself.

Chapters are grouped into four parts to highlight the major phases in colonization's transformation from an old-regime peopling principle into a business sphere through which government and companies gave shape to migratory flows. The first part details how both the Luso-Brazilian government in Rio de Janeiro from 1808 to 1821 and Pedro I from 1822 to 1831 harnessed colonization toward state-building goals. In using colonization as part of an emergent governmental toolkit, the Portuguese emperor João VI sought to balance out different pressures from within and from without, as discussed in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 follows the politics revolving around his son, who as the new emperor of an independent Brazil summoned colonization to defend Brazilian sovereignty but also to uphold a controversial interpretation of his own powers as monarch, which a bourgeoning legislature countered by trying to seize jurisdiction over colonization affairs.

The second part of the book covers the emergence of a colono trade that ushered in the first Brazilian colonization companies and was then indelibly shaped by them. As explored in Chapter 3, these emergent companies reinforced new political hierarchies during the Regency and facilitated the transfer of erstwhile government prerogatives related to directed migrations to private, for-profit collectivities. The following chapters in Part II detail the efforts by Brazilian statesmen and businessmen to apply colonization as a solution to numerous imperial and foreign concerns that included but also went beyond the end of the slave trade. The lessons learned from these early companies led the imperial government to outsource colonization activities to numerous foreign petitioners and also, eventually, to lead colonization by example with the first imperial model colony and with a robust use of colonization as a diplomatic expedient, as discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 turns to the mid-century mark, when new regulations and dynamics brought into relief the state's increasing autonomy in defining colonization's uses for myriad purposes beyond political elites' concerns with enslaved-labor replacement.

Part III examines how colonization companies became politicized from the 1850s onward, with Chapter 6 looking into the two dashing

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colonization companies that followed three important 1850s laws. The chapter examines how domestic quarrels could hinder such enterprises by cutting the essential lifeline provided by government funds. Curiously, these tensions allowed for the state to reprise a more regulatory role as authorities attempted to channel and oversee migrations more closely, exercising a version of what historian Aristide Zolberg called regulation by "remote control," that is, enacting attributions that allowed government authority to extend overseas and influence how migrations were organized even in departure ports. Renovated efforts leading to a new colonization company in the 1860s lie at the center of Chapter 7, which looks closely at the opportunistic entanglements of Brazilian colonization with regional conflicts and crises around the world that brought Polish exiles, US Confederate veterans, Algerian settlers, and Cuban expatriates to Brazil. In Chapter 8, the coolie trade comes into full view as an instance in which private enterprise tried to bolster the Brazilian state's capacity to enact and sustain new migratory labor flows, a goal frustrated by myriad business-related factors rather than simple racial aversion.

Part IV offers a denouement, surveying the transit into mass-migration promotion efforts in the midst of the abolition crisis and beyond (Chapter 9). The book ends with a Conclusion that details the persistence of peopling as a guiding governmental principle well into the 1980s, when the Brazilian dictatorship launched plans for Amazonian colonization. As these plans unraveled, they marked the sunset of colonization as a repurposed nineteenth-century trope and a long-standing intellectual tradition among political elites.

The research and writing for this book occurred under the shadow of a ruling that tendentiously ensconced constitutional rights deeper into the legal fiction of corporate personhood. Though far from Brazil, *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010) adumbrated the capacity of companies to throw their weight into political discourse and radically tip the balance of electoral outcomes. As such, corporate jurisprudence raises the specter of companies as political machines that act with full protections originally accorded to individuals as bearers of rights but with far greater might and far greater weight in the balance of history than any single human may muster. With this, and together with the crises engulfing Brazilian multinationals in the early twenty-first century, our era clamors for a serious consideration of the power of companies over historical events.

Similarly, the recurrent incidents of violence against foreign migrants in contemporary Brazil, especially those from Africa and other parts of

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Afro-Latin America, serve as potent reminders of the need to examine the history and meanings of migration policies and protections or lack thereof. Doing so illuminates searing discrepancies in Brazilian political and social life and contradictory experiences of migration – contradictions embodied by the precarious livelihoods and violent deaths of Congolese, Senegalese, and Haitian migrants while entire communities celebrate exceptional privileges ostensibly inherited from the work ethos of their immigrant forebears.

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PART I

COLONIZATION'S STATECRAFT

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1

Peopling as Strategy

Appeasement and Preemption in the Joanine Court

On arrival, the weary traveler approaching Brazil after 1808 encountered the radiant verdure of rugged coasts. Following an uneventful 35-day trip from Liverpool to Pernambuco in 1809, Henry Koster, who stayed in Brazil for several years, gushed at the sight of Olinda: "Its appearance from the sea is most delightful ... its gardens and trees ... hold out expectations of great beauty." Further south, voluptuous hills framed the entrance to Guanabara Bay and cradled Rio de Janeiro, the capital of colonial Brazil since 1763 and the home of the Portuguese royal family after 1808. In that year, the Bragança household arrived in Rio fleeing Napoléon's storming of Lisbon. As an obligatory token of appreciation for British aid in the transfer of the entire Lisbon Court to Rio, the Portuguese prince regent João de Bragança opened Brazilian ports to foreign commerce for the first time. A new era seemed to dawn. "In a few years," exclaimed a well-traveled British observer, Brazil would become "the Granary of the Universe!"[1]

Yet wartime needs, not splendid vistas or dreams of prosperity, defined the political economy of the besieged Luso-Brazilian state once it landed in Rio. During João de Bragança's thirteen years in Brazil (1808–1821), strategic imperatives for the survival of the Portuguese Empire initially overtook long-term aspirations for economic growth. In this context,

[1] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816), 1–3; AN, Junta do Comércio-cx. 386, Charles Frazer, "Observations on the Agriculture of Brazil with Suggestions for Improving and Increasing That Useful Art" (14 June 1810); José Jobson de Andrade Arruda, *Uma colônia entre dois impérios: a abertura dos portos brasileiros, 1800–1808* (Bauru: Edusc, 2008).

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peopling rose as a chief expedient to bridge governmental concerns over defense and development. Luso-Brazilians and foreigners alike understood that a dearth of population both represented a military vulnerability and economically curtailed Brazil's potential. If Benjamin Franklin came to Brazil, quipped counselor José da Silva Lisboa to João in 1816, he would cast a glance "over its tenuous and *facticious* [*sic*] population of slaves, blacks and mixed-colored peoples and would exclaim–*everything is so empty*." Peopling these domains thus became a safeguard against external threats and a prescription for ideal futures.[2]

Upon arrival, the Luso-Brazilian government, defined here as the entire Portuguese imperial apparatus, continuously redeployed peopling practices modeled after eighteenth-century reformist precedents to keep itself afloat. But as statesmen applied new colonization models, they incorporated piecemeal innovations that gradually shifted peopling away from the arsenal of defensive measures concocted during the Napoleonic crisis. Their peopling measures began to inch toward developmental ends such as populating agricultural frontiers and reinvigorating mining. After 1815, the Crown leveraged migration to confront the conflicting pressures of British liberalism and Holy Alliance absolutism. Experimenting with Crown-directed peopling drives and with more indirect forms of royal sponsorship, Luso-Brazilians primed themselves for the more entrepreneurial kind of private colonization attempted by German empresarios trained in the cameral sciences. Establishing their own colonies, these foreign travelers and scientists played a central role in transforming ancien régime peopling into the business of colonization. By 1821, when João returned to Portugal, by then crowned as João VI, peopling had undergone a dramatic transformation. From a centennial old-regime tradition of either punitive banishment or periodic and languid directed migrations from the Azores, peopling came into its own as an invaluable tool of modern royal statecraft and one that opened windows of collaboration with private actors. This combination solidified the uses of peopling toward urgent geostrategic ends but also traced the contours of a new kind of peopling for profit.

[2] José Luis Cardoso, "Free Trade, Political Economy and the Birth of a New Economic Nation: Brazil, 1808–1810," *Revista de História Económica* 27, no. 2 (2009): 183–204; José da Silva Lisboa, "Parecer dado por ordem superior sobre os expedientes necessários ao progresso e melhoramento da população do Brasil," (c. 1816) in *Política, administração, economia e finanças públicas portuguesas (1750–1820)*, ed. José Viriato Capela (Braga: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Minho, 1993), 320.

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POPULATION, PROSPERITY, AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE LUSO-BRAZILIAN COURT

"In Multitudine populi dignitas Regis" – "from the multitude of people [comes] the dignity of the King." So exclaimed a chief chronicler of João's time in Brazil, celebrating the prince regent's authorization of foreigners and their industries after 1808. Citing only the first half of the Book of Proverbs 14:28, the chronicler cleverly omitted the rest: "et in paucitate plebis ignominia principis" – "and a dearth of people ruins the prince." Prince João was well aware. Arriving with shiploads of courtiers, bureaucrats, and servants, the royal family had performed a daring demographic feat that justified the chronicler's enthusiasm. In the early 1800s, Brazil had an approximate population of 3.33 million, with the city of Rio holding over 54,000 inhabitants. The sudden influx of at least 10,000 Portuguese to Rio, and the many foreigners in their wake, represetented a significant demographic injection that heightened the contrast between a populated Brazilian littoral and vast but sparsely inhabited hinterlands.[3]

Low population density turned Brazil into an ostensibly blank canvas for European visions of prosperity partly fueled by an ongoing "agricultural renaissance." Throughout Brazil's captaincies, new commodities accompanied the recovery of the more traditional sugar industry as old colonial products such as gold, *pau-brasil*, and whale oil declined. In Maranhão, cotton and rice had a promising start. In the south, the sub-captaincy of Rio Grande de São Pedro began to produce wheat as it conquered internal markets in beef and hides. And coffee began to be cultivated on a small scale in the mountains around Rio de Janeiro. By 1806, Brazilian products constituted 62.4 percent of Portugal's combined exports and re-exports.[4]

Eighteenth-century statesmen latched expectations for such economic prosperity to population. Royal officials routinely shipped cohorts of

[3] Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos, *Memórias para servir à história do Reino do Brasil* (Lisboa: Impressão Regia, 1825), vol. 1, 111; Douglas Graham and Thomas W. Merrick, *Population and Economic Development in Brazil: 1800 to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 26–36; "Memória estatística do Império do Brasil," (1829), *RIHGB* 58, no. 1 (1895): 91–99.

[4] Dauril Alden, "Late Colonial Brazil, 1750–1808," in *Colonial Brazil*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 284–343; Fernando Novais, *Portugal e Brasil na crise do antigo sistema colonial (1777–1808)* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1979); Jorge M. Pedreira, "Economia e política na explicação da independência do Brasil," in *A independência brasileira: Novas dimensões*, ed. Jurandir Malerba (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2006), 55–97.

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young *casais* (couples) from the Azores and Madeira to start *povoações* (population nuclei) across Brazil, setting precedents that nineteenth-century observers would look back upon. In 1809 and closer to Rio, an English traveler described the plantation of an Azorean-born landowner who had managed to plant 5,000 coffee bushes with the help of six slaves and two sons, and whose example would "stimulate the emulation of his neighbors." Still in 1830, and farther north, one geographer attributed the populous nature of the Amazonian town of Bragança to a considerable "white population" of "Azorite" descent.[5]

Grafting populations onto an ostensible Arcadia had been a slowly developing royal project. In 1747, a royal provision minutely defined the conditions for transport and settlement of Azorean colonos in Santa Catarina, systematizing what had previously been a largely unstructured practice. Then, with the accession of José I to the Portuguese throne in 1750, the king's notoriously sanguine minister, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, future marquês de Pombal, incorporated a more diverse roster of colonization modalities into his imperial reform program. He redirected convict exiles to Mato Grosso and the Amazon basin and established the Directorate of Indians (1757) to "protect" and "civilize" indigenous peoples in *aldéas* (villages) meant to acculturate them, exploit them for labor, and marry their women to incoming colonos.[6]

Most importantly, Pombal created two pathbreaking monopoly companies in the Brazilian north and northeast that would function as the earliest points of reference for nineteenth-century colonization companies. The Companhia Geral de Grão-Pará e Maranhão of 1755 and the Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba of 1759 propelled Pombal's imperial vision as "company-states." Similar to, but less powerful than, the British East India Company, the Companhias Gerais sought to structure entire Brazilian regions thanks to the significant governance

[5] Ignácio Cerqueira e Silva, *Corografia paraense, ou descripção física, histórica, e política da Província do Gram-Pará* (Bahia: Typographia do Diário, 1833), 247; John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* (London: Longman, Hurst, Reese, Orme, and Brown, 1812), 119.

[6] "Provisão de 9 de agosto de 1747," in *Imigração e colonização. Legislação de 1747–1850*, ed. Luiza Horn Iotti (Caxias do Sul: EDUCS, 2001), 38–41; José de Souza Azevedo Pizarro e Araújo, *Memórias históricas do Rio de Janeiro e das províncias anexas à jurisdicção do vice-rei do Estado do Brasil*, vol. 9 (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Nacional, 1822), 276–279, 335; Manoel Domingos Farias Rendeiro Neto, "Denying Sovereignties: Empires, Maps, and Runaway Indigenous People and Maroons in Amazonian Borderlands (1777–1800)," (MA thesis, University of California, Davis, 2018).

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power outsourced to them by Pombal.[7] Significantly, these Companhias Gerais pursued very diverse peopling policies toward two guiding objectives: increasing labor pools and establishing revenue-generating population nodes. In doing so, they indistinguishably folded very different kinds of populations – colonos, convicts, Indians, newly imported enslaved Africans – into an integrated vision guided in the main by a drive for fiscal gains, on the one hand, and private dividends, on the other.

While Luso-Brazilian statesmen reflected back on these corporate precedents for decades, in the immediate aftermath of Pombal's 1777 downfall, they continued their search for reformist models focused on transporting and managing populations, particularly in orphanages and poorhouses established across Europe. By 1794, Luso-Brazilian administrators had familiarized themselves with prospective *bureaux de charité* upon the Loire, subscription-funded *hôtels* in Lyon, the *ozpedali*, *albergui*, and *retiri* of Sardinia, and even Thomas Jefferson's own iterations of these for Virginia. Such initiatives featured prominently in the outlay of the Arco do Cego, a royal publishing initiative established in Lisbon in 1799 focusing on the dissemination of practical improvements and scientific knowledge.[8]

Punitive forms of population transport endured, as when João ordered vagrants from Pernambuco to be transferred to the African Portuguese outposts of Angola and Benguela.[9] Yet reformists like Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho soon began to spell out nonpunitive alternatives. In 1803, for instance, Souza Coutinho counseled populating the wastelands of Trás-os-Montes with poor peasants and decommissioned soldiers to alleviate

[7] José Ribeiro Júnior, *Colonização e monopólio no nordeste brasileiro: a Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba, 1759–1780* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2004 [1976]); Antonio Carreira, *As companhias pombalinas de Grão Pará e Maranhão, e Pernambuco e Paraíba* (Lisboa: Presença, 1983); Philip Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3–14; Andrew Phillips and J. C. Sharman, *Outsourcing Empire: How Company-States Made the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020).

[8] AN, Diversos-cód. 807, vol. 21, ff. 81–93; Walter Fraga Filho, *Mendigos, moleques e vadios na Bahia do século XIX* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1996); Gabriel Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c. 1770–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 18, 35–62; John Howard, *História dos principaes lazaretos d'Europa*, trans. José Ferreira da Silva (Lisbon: Arco do Cego, 1800).

[9] Kenneth Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal, 1750–1808* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 206–239; Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550–1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

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poverty, one of a number of measures he proposed expressly "to see population grow."[10] By the hand of Souza Coutinho and others, peopling gradually shed old-regime practices and began adopting novel trends in poor relief and Malthusian-inspired drives to promote population growth.

This change unexpectedly accelerated in 1807, when the royal household itself partook in an improvised and unintended transfer that Souza Coutinho had proposed as early as 1799. As Napoleonic troops marched toward Lisbon, the Braganças, their courtiers, and the entire imperial government hurriedly set sail to Rio in an escape that marked a profound political shift: the transformation of Brazil's old colonial capital into the seat of the Portuguese Empire.[11] The change had an immediate peopling effect because at least some 10,000 Portuguese arrived with the royal family, forcing the city into a sudden expansion beyond colonial-era confines. The prince regent saw this as an opportunity not only to adopt measures to regulate property but also to capitalize from its rising value. After requisitioning properties to house nobles and officers, João imposed the urban *dízima*, a 10 percent levy on property, and quickly extended it to inland towns in 1809. As historians have shown, the Bragança ruler would remain beholden to merchants and slave traders representing the wealthiest 10 percent of Rio's population and the Crown's leading creditors. But, from the moment of arrival, he also began implementing measures meant to leverage population growth while promoting it in a careful balance that buttressed Rio's transformation from a city of about 50,000 to one of 100,000 inhabitants by 1820.[12]

[10] Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, "Discurso para se ler na sessão da Sociedade Marítima . . ." (1803), BNd, Manuscritos-col. Linhares, I-29,13,25, doc. 23; Agostinho de Sousa Coutinho, *O conde de Linhares, dom Rodrigo Domingos Antonio de Sousa Coutinho* (Lisbon: Typographia Bayard, 1908).

[11] Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do antigo regime português* (Lisbon: Edições Afrontamento, 1993), 161.

[12] João Fragoso, *Homens de grossa aventura: acumulação e hierarquia na praça mercantil do Rio de Janeiro (1790–1830)* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1992), 255–261; Manolo Florentino and João Fragoso, *O arcaísmo como projeto. Mercado Atlântico, sociedade agrária e elite mercantil no Rio de Janeiro, c. 1790–c. 1840* (Rio de Janeiro: Diadorim, 1993); Santos, *Memórias*, vol. 1, 209, 232–236; Maria B. Nizza da Silva, "Medidas urbanísticas no Rio de Janeiro durante o período joanino," *RIHGB* 161, no. 407 (2000): 95–108; Jurandir Malerba, *A corte no exílio. Civilização e poder no Brasil às vésperas da Independência (1808–1821)* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000), 187–193; Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1821* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 101–110; Andréa Slemian, *Vida política em tempo de crise: Rio de Janeiro (1808–1824)* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2006), 55–57.

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DEFENSE AND DEVELOPMENT

Notwithstanding revenue-generating visions, military imperatives took precedence over long-term economic goals upon the Court's arrival in Rio. The threat of a French invasion was compounded by the rising unrest across Spanish America following the crisis of 1808, when the Spanish king abdicated his crown under Napoléon's orders. In the years ahead, the political situation in the Río de la Plata remained in flux, and the Portuguese Crown contemplated a host of possible scenarios, from carlotistas who called for João's wife, the Spanish princess María Carlota, to claim the Spanish throne, to heterogeneous republican-inclined armies of indigenous peoples who could tip the balance of revolution one way or another.[13]

Preempting these perils, Souza Coutinho submitted a master plan to the prince regent to protect Brazilian lands from French invasion and safeguard frontiers with Spanish America. Beginning with the construction of the first gunpowder factory in Brazil, Souza Coutinho's plan strategically integrated imperial resources. Military expeditions from Mozambique would, in theory, seize the Île de France and Île Bourbon (Mauritius and Réunion), while Brazilian forces invaded French Cayenne. Meanwhile, a good supply of tropical hardwoods allowed Bahia's shipyard to build eleven war vessels of varying tonnage within a year.[14] Souza Coutinho sought to multiply that level of production across Brazil by importing drought-resistant trees from Macao and Goa to the Amazon and the Brazilian northeast and seeding diverse pine plantations in southern Brazil to compensate for the loss of the Baltic timber trade. Hemp cultivation, a constant but elusive pursuit since Pombaline times, would in turn provide cordage to replace shipments from Riga.[15] In addition, new

[13] João Paulo Pimenta, *A independência do Brasil e a experiência hispano-americana (1808–1822)* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2015); Karina Melo, "Historias indígenas em contextos de formação dos Estados argentino, brasileiro e uruguaio: charruas, guaranis e minuanos em fronteiras platinas (1801–1818)" (PhD diss., Unicamp, 2017); Marcela Ternavasio, *Los juegos de la política: Las independencias hispanoamericanas frente a la contrarrevolución* (Zaragoza: Siglo Veintinuno/Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2021).

[14] BNd, Manuscritos- I-33,28,010, Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, "Memorial a S.M., respondendo aos seguintes quesitos solicitados" (1808); *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* no. 39 (15 May 1811).

[15] Dauril Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil, with Special Reference to the Administration of the Marquis of Lavradio, Viceroy, 1769–1779* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 367. On the southern borderlands, see Fabrício Prado, *Edge of*

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foundries would produce anchors and copper laminates to galvanize a new Luso-Brazilian naval force.

Notably, Souza Coutinho's plan also incorporated strategic peopling measures, recommending "the emigration of any loyal, industrious vassals that wish to come to add to the force and population of the Empire." In 1808, the prince regent followed suit by ordering the transport of 1,500 Azorean families to Rio Grande do Sul in response to Souza Coutinho's recurrent concerns with both "the need to people that ... frontier captaincy" and the perceived overpopulation of the Azores. Interestingly, in order to carry out these directed migrations, Souza Coutinho proposed a partnership with "foreign capitalists" who could provide the necessary naval infrastructure in the Azores, signaling an early opening to the profit-oriented facets of peopling projects.[16]

Souza Coutinho's vision also guided the prince regent toward assertive military action. In 1809, a Luso-Brazlian land-and-sea operation took the French outpost of Cayenne. Portuguese forces then mobilized in the Banda Oriental (present-day Uruguay) in 1811, eventually taking control of Montevideo, which became the seat of the Brazilian Kingdom's new Cisplatina province. As these plans played out, a cash-strapped Crown tried to tether new revenues to land occupancy by issuing ordinances in 1809 and 1810 that favored long-term cultivation and population growth. These ordinances increased taxes on *forais* (ecclesiastical and Crown lands receiving special privileges), distributed *baldios* (wastelands), and revived emphytheusis, a life-long lease on the use of government property.[17] In doing so, however, they incited ecclesiastical and mainland Portuguese objectors who stymied their application until Souza Coutinho passed away in 1812.[18] Nevertheless, Souza Coutinho had reared Brazilian acolytes who would uphold his legacy by bringing the lessons of their training to the service of the state with important ripple effects on peopling. José Feliciano Fernandes Pinheiro, for instance, translated works on agricultural improvement in British colonies and poorhouses in Munich at the Arco do Cego from 1799 to 1801 before

Empire: Atlantic Networks and Revolution in Bourbon Río de la Plata (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

[16] Decree (1 Sept.), *CLIB* (1808), vol. 1, 129; Souza Coutinho, "Memorial."

[17] Decree (25 Nov.), *CLIB* (1808), vol. 1, 166; Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807–1869* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 8–11.

[18] Alexandre, *Os sentidos*, 232–243; Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 69–73.

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turning to government service for years to come in Rio Grande do Sul, a newly opening and strategically important peopling frontier.[19]

José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva was perhaps the most outstanding of the students endorsed by Souza Coutinho as he moved the needle of peopling from defensive to developmental applications. After studying at Coimbra under Italian Physiocrat Domingos Vandelli, José Bonifácio obtained a government bursary to train in numerous European universities, which allowed him to refine and actualize a practical vision of peopling as part and parcel of a broader strategy for state development. During his decade-long travels for study, no residency proved more consequential than his long stay at the school of mines at Freiberg, where he worked closely with faculty trained in the cameralist sciences developed at the University of Göttingen and other German centers of learning. Cameral sciences, or the "sciences of the state" as they were also referred to, encompassed a broad constellation of academic disciplines geared toward practical administrative knowledge.[20] Cameralists prized population as both a means for and an end to their interest in perfecting administrative and economic practices to maximize government revenues. When José Bonifácio began applying the lessons learned at Freiberg, his ideas very much aligned with the populationism adopted not only in German kingdoms but also in empires like Russia.[21]

José Bonifácio returned to Portugal in 1801 to teach at the Casa da Moeda and then at Coimbra as chair of mineralogy before being appointed intendant general of mines and forests. In this latter role, as he went about reorganizing mining endeavors and pine plantations in Portugal, he crucially recast peopling as the necessary flipside of mining,

[19] For a full list of his translations, see José Feliciano Fernandes Pinheiro, *Anais da província de São Pedro (história da colonização alemã no Rio Grande do Sul)* (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1978 [1819–1822]), 44–45.

[20] Alexandre Mendes Cunha, "Cameralist Ideas in Portuguese Enlightened Reformism: The Diplomat Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho and His Circuit of Intellectual Exchange," in *Cameralism and the Enlightenment: Happiness, Governance and Reform in Transnational Perspective*, ed. Ere Nokkala and Nicholas B. Miller (London: Routledge, 2020), 201–223. For varying definitions of cameralism, see Keith Tribe, *Strategies of Economic Order: German Economic Discourse (1750–1950)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 8–31; Andre Wakefield, "Cameralism: A German Alternative to Mercantilism," in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, ed. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 134–150.

[21] Roger Bartlett, "Cameralism in Russia: Empress Catherine II and Population Policy," in *Cameralism and the Enlightenment*, 65–90.

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which in his view "populate[d] barren mountains ... and fill[ed] them in time with villages, towns and cities" while producing state revenues through taxes on consumption.[22] When he returned to Brazil after decades studying and working overseas, he also championed private companies as those used "in Germany, Hungary and the Northern Kingdoms" to lead mining endeavors, bringing peopling and companies into the same developmental paradigm centered around mining.[23]

José Bonifácio's administrative, company-friendly, and peopling-oriented meliorism helped him organize a network of collaborators familiar with or trained in German mining sciences. This network led the first company effort involving the importation of foreign specialized labor. Thanks to his friend Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, who was then the Portuguese chargé d'affaires in Berlin, José Bonifácio contracted Wilhelm von Eschwege, a mining specialist trained in Göttingen, and Friedrich Varnhagen, a military engineer from Hesse, to serve as foundry directors in Portugal and later brought them to Brazil when his brother, Martim Francisco Ribeiro de Andrada, another Arco do Cego alumnus, revived plans for the São João do Ipanema foundry near the iron deposits of Sorocaba, São Paulo.[24] Seeing the possibility of domestic weapons manufacturing, Souza Coutinho approved the incorporation of the foundry into a joint-stock company strongly backed by the prince regent. However, this opportunity soon soured when the racketeering of the personnel recruiter in Stockholm led to losses equivalent to 19 percent of total production costs in 1813. Varnhagen then assumed command and by 1820 steered Ipanema to full operations with a roster of several German molders and 89 enslaved workers under their orders.[25]

[22] José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, *Memória sobre a necessidade e utilidades do plantio de novos bosques em Portugal, particularmente de pinhaes nos areaes de beira-mar* (Lisbon: Typografia da Acadêmia Real das Sciencias, 1815), 129–133.

[23] José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, "Mineralogia," *O Patriota* 2, no. 1 (July 1813); no. 2 (Aug. 1813); no. 3 (Sept. 1813).

[24] BNd, Manuscritos-I-32,26,7-no. 8 "Atestado do mestre mineiro do distrito Feldner de entrada nas minas reais de Portugal" (30 Jan. 1803, certified 23 Oct. 1806); Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege, *Pluto Brasiliensis: Memórias sobre as riquezas do Brasil em ouro, diamantes e outros minerais*, 2 vols., trans. Domício de Figueiredo Murta (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1944); Friedrich Toussaint, "Baron von Eschwege and His Bloomery Ironworks, Fábrica Patriótica," *Steel Times* 223, no. 12 (1995): 482; Alex Varela, *"Juro-lhe pela honra de bom vassalo e bom português": Análise das memórias científicas de José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva (1780–1819)* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2006), 159, 177–179.

[25] Martim Francisco Ribeiro de Andrada, "Diário de uma viagem mineralógica pela província de São Paulo em 1805," *RIHGB* 2, no. 9 (Oct.–Dec. 1847): 527–547;

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The experience laid bare the fact that, despite cameralist ideals, economic plans involving new companies and imported foreign workers remained vulnerable to self-enriching opportunists due to their nature as profit-oriented enterprises.

The troubled but ultimately successful effort at Ipanema foundry accompanied other efforts that combined peopling with ambitious economic pursuits on both sides of the Portuguese Atlantic. In Brazil, the Impressão Régia threw its weight behind a bourgeoning populationism by publishing Herrenschwand's cameralist-infused ideas on population growth. In 1815, a local judge in Lisbon ordered vagrant youth sent to the Alentejo to populate and revive a moribund Portuguese hinterland.[26] In Brazilian *sertões* like Guarapuava and the Rio Doce valley, the war against itinerant Indians decreed by the prince regent in 1808 to free up land for settlement raged on as he ordered the transport of Azoreans to the region. Still in 1813, the Crown authorized importing Chinese workers at the behest of Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira, *ouvidor-geral* of Macau. These workers were originally intended as field hands and naval carpenters but ended up in the new Botanical Gardens and in the royal fazenda of Santa Cruz, where they worked alongside a diverse labor pool and received relatively better treatment than their indigenous or African counterparts. In 1819, a planned contingent of a hundred Portuguese arrived at Desterro (present-day Florianópolis), settling Nova Ericeira, an avatar of their eponymous seaside hometown and a royal-funded homestead that flourished into multiple towns.[27] These

Nicolau Vergueiro, "Sobre a fundação da Fábrica de Ferro de S. João do Ypanema, na Província de S. Paulo," in *Subsídios para a história do Ypanema*, ed. Frederico A. P. de Moraes (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1858), 1–150; João Pandiá Calógeras, *As minas do Brasil e sua legislação*, vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1905), 79–88.

[26] Jean-Daniel Herrenschwand, *Discurso fundamental sobre a população. Economia política moderna*, trans. Luiz Prates de Almeida e Albuquerque (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Régia, 1814); ATT-Conde de Linhares, mç. 24-doc. 7, "Proposta para a colonização do Alentejo, empregando na agricultura os rapazes vadios de Lisboa" (1815). The plan envisioned marrying young males trained in industries with women housed in a nearby religious charity.

[27] "Carta Régia" (1 Apr.), *CLIB*, vol. 1 (1809), 36; Carlos F. Moura, "O projeto de Brum da Silveira, ouvidor de Macau, de envio de carpinteiros chineses para os arsenais reais do Brasil," *Navigator* 10, no. 20 (2014): 21–28; Decree (26 July), *CLIB* (1813), vol. 1, 20; *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 103 (25 Dec. 1819). The number of Chinese migrants imported during the Joanine period is estimated at 500, in Robert Conrad, "The Planter Class and the Debate over Chinese Immigration to Brazil, 1850–1893," *International Migration Review* 9, no. 1 (1975): 41–55. The 41 or so Chinese workers at Santa Cruz received tools, compensation for trips to the city, land plots of their choosing, and food rations slightly adapted to their dietary preferences, which led to tensions with enslaved

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diverse peopling pursuits added up in time to turn the initially defensive, military applications of peopling initiatives into more regionally targeted strategies for economic improvement.

However, the most dramatic shift in peopling from defensive toward development-oriented goals occurred at the Congress of Vienna of 1814–1815, where the Portuguese Crown fell squarely between two contending camps negotiating the borders and balance of a new international order.[28] On one side, Russia, Austria, and Prussia defined an absolutist bloc intent on restoring monarchies and later officialized as the Holy Alliance. On the other side, Great Britain championed a liberal world order freed from the slave trade. The Portuguese plenipotentiaries participated in negotiations only partially and were forced to deliver hard concessions like extinguishing the trade north of the equator while aggressively pursuing indemnification for British-apprehended vessels. From the sidelines, the Portuguese envoys also reciprocated the overtures of conservative powers.[29] Russia, which had amicably appointed a consul, Georg von Langsdorff, to Rio in 1813, offered to return Portuguese territories lost to Spain after the Treaty of Badajoz (1801). Prussia in turn considered softening slave trade sanctions and guaranteeing mutual protection for religious liberties in Prussian and Portuguese domains.

Meanwhile, the prince regent took bold steps to insulate his empire from the pressures arising in Vienna. He elevated Brazil to the status of kingdom on a par with Portugal and the Algarves in a nod to the marquis de Talleyrand, the French ambassador to Vienna who allegedly suggested it, but kept the French in thrall by withholding Cayenne as collateral for later negotiations.[30] After Queen Maria I's death in 1816, a newly

laborers. AN, Fazenda Santa Cruz-cx. 0507137; 0507181; 507130; 507158; 507155; 507180; 507169.

[28] Brian Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Beatrice de Graaf, Ido de Haan, and Brian Vick, eds., *Securing Europe after Napoleon: 1815 and the New European Security Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

[29] Fernanda Bretones Lane, Guilherme Santos, and Alain El Youssef, "The Congress of Vienna and the Making of Second Slavery," *Journal of Global Slavery* 4 (2019): 162–195; *Tabella das perdas e damnos experimentados pelos negociantes portuguezes* (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Nacional, 1822); *Convenção entre os muito altos, muito poderosos senhores o Príncipe Regente de Portugal e El Rei do Reino Unido da Grande Bretanha e Irlanda* (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Régia, 1815).

[30] *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 4 (8 Mar. 1813); BNd, Manuscritos-Linhares, I-29,14,55-no. 11, count of Nesselrode to conde do Funchal (20 May 1814), nos. 22–24, conde de Palmela to Funchal; Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, 162, 204–206; Janet Hartley, "War, Economy and Utopianism: Russia after the Napoleonic Era," in *War, Demobilization,*

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crowned João VI occupied Montevideo, which would soon become Brazil's new Cisplatina province. His strategic maneuvers concluded in 1817 with his son Pedro de Bragança's marriage to princess Leopoldina, daughter to the Austrian Hapsburg king and head of the old Holy Roman Empire Francis II.

The Congress of Vienna spelled multiple binds for the Luso-Brazilian government, but the overtures of conservative allies and João VI's strategic offensives generated fresh opportunities. This dynamic unintendedly repurposed peopling paradigms by providing an overture into Brazil for private actors from Holy Alliance countries. As part of the new state of affairs, German-speaking travelers, diplomats, and artists began streaming in, including Langsdorff and the Austrian scientific expedition that accompanied princess Leopoldina across the Atlantic. These men would soon establish "colonies" in Brazil that expanded peopling beyond government uses and redefined it as a lucrative sphere of business, or more concretely, as the business of colonization.[31]

THE GERMAN CONNECTION

German visitors to the Kingdom of Brazil benefited from the groundwork laid out by Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, the consul general appointed by Russia in 1813 who went on to anchor an expansive network of German-speaking colonization entrepreneurs. Born in the Rhineland-Palatinate, Langsdorff hailed from a region with high levels of emigration after the Napoleonic wars, so he was no stranger to the forces behind migratory dynamics. In 1797, he obtained a medical degree from the University of Göttingen, an epicenter of German cameral sciences and the common alma mater for many of the German travelers to Brazil.[32] At Göttingen, Langsdorff studied natural history under Johann Blumenbach and witnessed the consolidation of administrative disciplines related to

and Memory: The Legacy of War in the Era of Atlantic Revolutions, ed. Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann and Michael Rowe (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 84–99; "Oyapock, divisa do Brazil com a Guiana Franceza á luz dos documentos históricos," *RIHGB* 58, no. 2 (1895): 215–223.

[31] Maria de Lourdes Viana Lyra, "União dinástica e relações científico-culturais," *RIHGB* 180 (2019): 89–100.

[32] David Lindenfeld, *The Practical Imagination: The German Sciences of State in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 39–41; Andre Wakefield, *The Disordered Police State: German Cameralism as Science and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 68–80.

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statistics and the "sciences of the state" more generally. In 1798, he went to Portugal accompanying one of the many nobles of smaller German states attending Göttingen. Although his patron suffered a fatal edema, Langsdorff stayed in Lisbon as a private physician at the insistence of the Portuguese War minister. However, five years later, he rushed to Copenhagen to join captain Adam J. von Kruzenshtern, a Baltic German about to set out on the first Russian circumnavigation of the world.[33] With stops at Rio and Desterro, this voyage launched Russo-Brazilian relations and offered Langsdorff his first brush with Brazil.

Notably, the voyage was funded by the Russian-American Company, a state-chartered private enterprise established in 1799 for fur-trading and settlement activities in Alaska and northern California. In this regard, the trip proved instructive for Langsdorff, as it introduced him to the power of companies in relation to settlement activities. The voyage also exposed him to the most varied geographies, rounding Cape Horn to stop at Nuku Hiva (Marquesas Islands), Hawai'i, the Kamchatka peninsula, Japan, and the Kuril Archipelago before reaching the Company's headquarters in Sitka. In 1805, Langsdorff accompanied Nicolai Rezanov, one of the Russian-American Company's founders, on another expedition to northern California. Leaving famine-stricken Sitka behind, he visited the Franciscan missions of San Francisco, San José de Guadalupe, and Santa Clara before returning north and eventually traveling by land across Siberia to St. Petersburg.[34]

Setting sail to Rio in 1813, Langsdorff brought along not only first-hand knowledge about long-distance trade and management of settlements but also an equally enterprising colleague in the person of Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss, a naturalist from Frankfurt. Freyreiss soon fashioned himself into a colonization empresario together with a number of other German speakers seeking to establish their own plantations, or colonies, in southern Bahia, a task that he undertook with the help of key contacts and the reconnaissance travels they facilitated. Botanist friends from Stockholm and Uppsala referred him to Lorenz Westin, the

[33] Georg von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World, during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807* (London: Henry Colburn, 1813), vii–xi.

[34] Russell Bartley, "The Inception of Russo-Brazilian Relations (1808–1828)," *HAHR* 56, no. 2 (1976): 217–240; Mary Wheeler, "The Origins of the Russian-American Company," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 14, no. 4 (1966): 485–494; Anatole Mazour, "The Russian-American Company: Private or Government Enterprise?," *Pacific Historical Review* 13, no. 2 (1944): 168–173; Joshua Paddison, ed., *A World Transformed: Firsthand Accounts of California Before the Gold Rush* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1999), 95–134.

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Swedish-Norwegian consul in Brazil. Upon Freyreiss's arrival, Westin funded his first scientific voyage from Juiz de Fora to Vila Rica in the company of Eschwege, then working as director of mines. In 1815, he undertook a second voyage along the southern Bahian districts, this time funded by João VI himself and, thanks to Langsdorff's connections, accompanied by a team of scientists under the command of prince Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, another Göttingen alumnus. Freyreiss learned about Brazilian plant specimens as well as semi-itinerant peoples like the Aymorés, Coroados, and Patachós. Then, he set his mind to settlement efforts similarly to other travelers and expatriates.

Visiting the plantation of Dutch engineer Peter Weyll, in the Almada region, Freyreiss fantasized about a colonial establishment and identified a potential site near the source of River Peruípe. The location fell squarely within Botocudo territory, but Freyreiss espoused notions of coercive indigenous tutelage and apprenticeship even though he bemoaned African slavery. In fact, within three years of arriving, Freyreiss took up an "indigenous attendant" and bartered a Puri boy away from his family during his expedition with prince Maximilian. By the time he requested royal lands for a colony in southern Bahia, he probably envisioned an agrarian establishment run on the backs of indigenous laborers.[35] He obtained a sesmaria in the district of Porto Seguro, near Vila Viçosa, as did a varied group of Germans and northern Europeans including Weyll and his associates; W. F. baron von dem Bussche, a noble and one-time Mason who served in Jérôme Bonaparte's short-lived Kingdom of Westphalia; and Peter Peycke, a Hamburg merchant eventually named consul to Salvador in 1821. Later, too, came the family of Charles-Louis

[35] B. J. Barickman, "'Tame Indians,' 'Wild Heathens,' and Settlers in Southern Bahia in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *The Americas* 51, no. 3 (1995): 325–368; Maxmilian Wied-Neuwied, *Travels in Brazil in the Years 1815, 1816, 1817* (London: Henry Colburn & Co., 1820), 41, 121–122; Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss, *Beiträge näheren Kenntniß des Kaiferthums Brasilien nebst einer Schilderung der neuen Colonie Leopoldina* (Frankfurt: Johann David Sauerländer, 1824), 141–170. Indigenous slavery was pervasive even among scientists like Johann Spix and Carl von Martius, two members of Leopoldina's Austrian Scientific Expedition who took an Indian boy and girl back to German lands in 1820, where they quickly fell ill during their first winter: *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 157 (30 Dec. 1820). For more, see Hal Langfur, *The Forbbiden Lands: Colonial Identity, Frontier Violence, and the Persistence of Brazil's Eastern Indians, 1750–1830* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 277–278; Yuko Miki, *Frontiers of Citizenship: A Black and Indigenous History of Postcolonial Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 49–62; Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 218–294.

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Borrell, a merchant from Prussian-controlled Neuchâtel.[36] Though not organized as a company, these Swiss and German colonos concertedly lobbied state authorities for favors and found a receptive patron in princess Leopoldina, in whose honor they named their colony.[37]

These private colonization efforts incited others to try their hand, including a Bavarian doctor also trained at Göttingen who had served in the Russian army, received an honorary barony from tsar Alexander I, and worked for the Russian-American Company. Anton von Schäffer had a lot in common with Langsdorff, who he sought when he called port in Rio on his way to Hawai'i and China aboard a Russian-American Company ship. Langsdorff introduced his countryman to the royal household before his departure to the South Seas. On his return from Macau in 1818, Schäffer spent a month in Rio and befriended Leopoldina. Profiting from her protection, by 1820 Schäffer arrived in the vicinities of the Leopoldina colony with forty-odd fellow compatriots from Franconia to begin settling his own sesmaria, which he aptly called Frankental.[38] Schäffer and his neighbors in Leopoldina quickly turned to indigenous labor and, increasingly, to slavery in order to attain unprecedented production levels for the region (Figure 1.1).[39] In 1832, as the municipal

[36] Carlos Oberacker "A colônia Leopoldina-Frankental na Bahia meridional: uma colônia européia de plantadores no Brasil," *Jahrbuch fur Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 24, no. 1 (1987): 455–479; Béatrice Veyrassant, *Réseaux d'affaires internationaux, émigrations et exportations en Amérique Latine au XIXe siècle: Le commerce Suisse aux Amériques* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1993); Mary Ann Mahony, "The World Cacao Made: Society, Politics, and History in Southern Bahia, Brazil, 1822–1919" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1996), 123–127; Lucelinda Corrêa, "O resgate de um esquecimento: a colônia de Leopoldina," *GEOgraphia* 7, no. 13 (2005): 87–111; Alane do Carmo, "Colonização e escravidão na Bahia: a colônia Leopoldina (1850–1888)" (MA thesis, UFBA 2010); Miki, *Frontiers*, 37–48. On Peycke, see ATT, Estrangeiros, cx. 120, pasta 2, Hamburg's Syndic to Portuguese minister José Anselmo Corrêa (1 Dec. 1820); AHI-MDB-Berlin/Hamburg, 202/02/13, Eustaquio Adolfo de Mello Mattos to visconde de Inhambupe (30 Apr. 1826).

[37] Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brazil, 1808–1821*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Commercio, 1908), 81. On German merchants, see Sylvia Ewel Lenz, *Alemães no Rio de Janeiro: diplomâcia e negócios, profissões e ócio (1808–1866)* (Bauru: EDUSC, 2008).

[38] Richard Pierce, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815–1817* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 215; Angel Bojadsen, Bettina Kann, and Patrícia Souza Lima, eds., *Cartas de uma imperatriz: D. Leopoldina* (São Paulo: Estação Liberdade, 2006). For excellent analysis of Schäffer and his background in a global context, see Miquéias Mügge, "Building an Empire in the Age of Revolutions: Independence and Immigration in the Brazilian Borderlands," *Topoi* 23, no. 51 (2022): 870–896.

[39] On the lumber trade from Leopoldina, see Oberacker, "A colônia Leopoldina-Frankental," 458–460; Carl August Tölsner, *Die colonie Leopoldina in Brasilien* (Göttingen: W. F. Kaestner, 1858), 59, 75. Tölsner resided in Lepoldina and eventually

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FIGURE 1.1 Slaveholding colonos: Fazenda Pombal in Colônia Leopoldina, c. 1820s–early 1830s
Jean-Frédéric Bosset de Luze (1754–1838), "Fazenda Pombal, Colonia Leopoldina, Bahia," (undated). Courtesy of Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo.

chamber of Vila Viçosa attempted unsuccessfully to expropriate its lands, Leopoldina numbered 86 whites who altogether owned 489 slaves and produced more tax revenue than the city of Vila Viçosa itself. By 1858, about 200 whites held 40 plantations on the backs of 2,000 Black slaves.[40]

Even though its colonos' slaveholding contradicted João VI's expectations, Leopoldina promised to harness peopling toward productive

graduated from Göttingen University in 1858. Bosset de Luze, the author of the painting, was the "mâitre bourgeois" and president of the Chamber of Forests and Game in the principality of Neuchâtel, a Swiss canton neighboring Fribourg, and under the purview of Prussia and its long forestry tradition. *État des emplois et offices de la souveraine Principauté de Neuchâtel et Valengin, et des personnes qui en sont revêtues pour l'an 1791*, 20.

[40] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}154, Hanse consul in Rio to Foreign minister Francisco Carneiro de Campos (3 July 1832); Swiss consul in Rio Auguste Tavel to Campos (17 July 1832); Tölsner, *Die colonie Leopoldina*, 3–4. Local officials accused the colonos of harboring republican ideas and cited the need for lands for Indians as a justification for the expropriation, but colonos countered that the colony generated higher revenues than Vila Viçosa.

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industries and efficient commodity chains. As the press celebrated in 1818, German newcomers in southern Bahia had produced enough cotton and maize to bring to port at Canavieiras via the Jequitinhonha and Salsa rivers that these could soon resemble the Elbe, "the busiest river in the world . . .!" Southern Bahia's concessions in fact joined the concurrent flurry of directed migrations authorized by João VI. The king welcomed Chinese horticulturists, Portuguese fishermen, German smiths, and even Spanish royalists emigrating from the River Plate. He chartered an agriculture and navigation company to open up the Rio Doce basin – the first of a series of enterprises over the next half century. And he sanctioned myriad migrant settlements that in a few years went from ramshackle establishments to towns or parishes contributing government revenues.[41] Yet the German connection facilitated by Langsdorff and soon responsible for a region-wide entrepreneurial push anticipated a different approach to colonization, one that required less government input but would produce, in theory, equal or greater gains for all involved. The problem was that with great promise came great perils, and the Luso-Brazilian government had yet to develop the tools to manage them.

THE START OF A LEARNING CURVE

A fresh cohort of capable royal counselors led by Pombal's pupil Tomás Antônio de Vilanova Portugal shepherded new colonization endeavors. At the command of numerous ministries from 1808 to 1821, Vilanova Portugal promoted peopling initiatives and resolved the frequent complications dredged up by directed migrations.[42] In 1817, authorities in Lisbon uncovered a Masonic conspiracy aiming to sever ties between Portugal and Brazil and executed the ringleader, Vienna-educated general Gomes Freire de Andrade, together with 11 others, while banishing four of the accused. Among those who avoided the galleys was Friedrich

[41] *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, nos. 51, 88 (27 June, 4 Nov 1818). On an earlier shareholding association for Goiás and Pará, see Santos, *Memórias*, vol. 1, 282, 311; vol. 2, 220–224, 246–248. AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}179, "Hespanhoes emigrados"; BNd, Manuscritos, Col. Linhares-I-29,14,4 no. 10, doc. 25, Villanova Portugal to conde de Caza Flores (9 May 1818).On João VI's colony fever, see decrees (18 Oct.), *CLIB* (1817), 17; (19 May), *CLIB* (1818), 53; (13 Nov.), *CLIB* (1818), 98; (10 Dec.), *CLIB* (1819), 82; Alvará (3 Jan.), and (25 May), *CLIB* (1820), vol. 1, pt.1, 1, 35; (20 Apr.), *CLIB* (1824), 31.

[42] Arnold Burgess Clayton, "The Life of Tomás Antônio de Vilanova Portugal: A Study in the Government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781–1821" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1977).

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Christian von Eben, baron d'Eben, a Hanover-born officer who fought with the Portuguese against Napoleon's forces in the Upper Douro. When d'Eben relocated to Oldenburg, he began recruiting conscripts for revolutionary armies in South America and soon confounded local authorities who found it hard to differentiate his activities from João VI's emigrant drives. As a result, in 1819 Vilanova Portugal determined that it would be ill-advised for the Royal Treasury to directly engage in colono recruitment at the time.[43]

Such complications laid bare the hazards of government-directed migrations and predisposed Luso-Brazilians toward other modalities of official involvement. Empires elsewhere offered useful models. The press in Rio took note, for instance, of Spain's efforts to populate its Caribbean colonies starting in 1815, when the king offered generous subsidies to migrants coming to Puerto Rico on the condition that they be white and from the mainland, the Canary Islands, or allied Catholic countries in Europe. Imperial Russian policies offering generous subsidies for German emigrants to populate newly conquered territories in Transcaucasia provided another example. Following a similar logic, colonies in Brazil could serve as a frontline for evangelization or even as a low-cost frontier militia against Indians in the likeness of the *Landwehr*, the national guard devised in Prussia to accommodate war veterans and reduce army sizes. Some of these ideas would only come to fruition if João VI allowed foreign entrepreneurs to take the lead or at least level private initiative with royal concessions and oversight. Soon, the Crown gave in to an offer along these lines that resulted in the establishment of Nova Friburgo, a colony populated by Swiss migrants that quickly gained notoriety.[44]

Conditions of duress across Europe and demographic pressures generated by decommissioned armies at the closing of the Napoleonic wars made Nova Friburgo possible. The end of military service, food shortages, and heavy taxation policies in German polities had sapped artisans'

[43] ATT, Estrangeiros, Hamburgo-cx. 120, pasta 1, Syndic Oldenburg to Corrêa (1 Dec. 1818); Vilanova Portugal to Corrêa (28 Apr., 20 Aug. 1819); Camilo Martins Lage to Corrêa (26 Oct. 1819); Vilanova Portugal to Corrêa (15 June 1820); Joaquim de Freitas, *Memória sobre a conspiração de 1817, vulgarmente chamada a conspiração de Gomes Freire* (London: Richard & Arthur Taylor, 1822).

[44] Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816–1885* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 9–14; Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, 138–149; *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, nos. 42, 15 (27 May 1818, 19 Feb. 1820), and for evidence of the colony's potential military uses, nos. 1, 92, 133 (1 Jan. 1817, 2 Oct. 1821, 5 Nov. 1822).

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purses and strengthened emigration as an option.[45] Contingency also tipped the global scales. On 11 April 1815, a volcanic peak in Indonesia known as Mount Tambora sustained the most potent volcanic eruption in recorded history, generating a sulfur dioxide mantle in the upper atmosphere that blocked sunlight and sent temperatures dipping around the world for months. The eruption made 1810–1820 the coldest decade in half a millennium and generated harvest failures across Europe until 1818. In the German Palatinate and the Swiss cantons, craftsmen lacking subsistence plots suffered the most from the resulting food scarcity, which led stonemasons, tailors, and bakers to emigrate in record numbers.[46]

In 1817, an opportunist from Gruyères named Sébastien-Nicolas Gachet incorporated a *societé en commandite* to establish farmsteads and dairy farms in Brazil. Gachet had served as secretary to Joachim Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, suffered captivity in Algiers, and worked as customs inspector at Naples before returning to his home canton of Fribourg right at the height of its crisis. Fribourg syndics persuaded him to siphon hungry craftsmen to Brazil and appointed him as a diplomatic agent to get it done. Once in Rio, Gachet secured an audience with João VI and convinced him of the benefits of welcoming Catholic families who would promote industry, grow grain, and educate "savages." With more than a thousand enslaved workers at his fazenda Santa Cruz by 1816, João VI now had a chance to stage royal support for free labor and patronize an establishment supplying the Court with special crafts and foods. As Dr. Ritter, a Prussian emigrant, enthused to the German press, the Swiss colony would soon provide "fresh butter, rye and wine!" thanks to João VI's endowment of "all the Privileges and benefits accorded to free Fairs" for the fledgling colony.[47] Seeing Nova

[45] *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, no. 48 (14 June 1817). On the levy wars among German polities, see W. O. Henderson, *The Zollverein* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1959); Leighton James, "The Experience of Demobilization: War Veterans in the Central European Armies and Societies after 1815," in *War, Demobilization, and Memory*, 68–83.

[46] K. R. Briffa et al., "Influence of Volcanic Eruptions on Northern Hemisphere Summer Temperature Over the Past 600 Years," *Nature* 393 (1998): 450–455; Jihong Cole-Dai et al., "Cold Decade (AD 1810–1819) Caused by Tambora (1815) and Another (1809) Stratospheric Volcanic Eruption," *Geophysical Research Letters* 36, no. L22703 (2009); Wolfgang Behringer, *Tambora and the Year without a Summer: How a Volcano Plunged the World into Crisis* (Cambridge: Polity, 2019), 73–169; Martin Nicoulin, *La genèse de Nova Friburgo: Emigration et colonisation suisse au Brésil, 1817–1827* (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1981); Walker, *Germany*, 28.

[47] Mawe, *Travels*, 107–110; José de Saldanha da Gama, "História da imperial fazenda de Santa Cruz," *RIHGB* 38, no. 2 (Oct.–Dec. 1875): 165–230; *Berlinische Nachrichten*,

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Friburgo as an opportunity to innovate, João VI appointed his first Colonization Inspector in father Pedro Miranda Malheiro. Together with Gachet, and under the purview of Vilanova Portugal, Miranda Malheiro authored instructions to welcome the Swiss emigrants, which serve perhaps as the first migrant reception policy in Brazil. The instructions tasked authorities to board ships with citrus fruit to palliate scurvy and disembark migrants away from the city to minimize illnesses. Colonos were to quarantine for two weeks at Macacu on the northern end of Guanabara Bay before overland travel. At the proposed site of Nova Friburgo, Vilanova Portugal and Miranda Malheiro also envisioned demarcating plots to distribute among the newcomers, sidestepping the archaic legal code that had governed property rights since 1603.[48]

Despite the preparations, the Swiss migrants faced a litany of complications. After a long trip down the Rhine from the cantons of Fribourg, Berne and Valais, they had their baggage stolen in Holland and fell prey to smallpox and a diarrheal malady referred to as the "Rotterdamer." Of 2,382 migrants, 43 died in Holland, 314 en route to Brazil, and 35 upon disembarking at Macacu. The remaining colonos made the twelve-day ascent up the Sea Ridge to the proposed site of the colony in Cantagallo, where further illnesses and crop failures awaited them in following years. By mid-1820, Nova Friburgo had recorded 536 deaths. Keeping its word against all odds, the Crown continued to nurse the moribund colony.[49]

Meanwhile, propaganda unabatedly stoked emigration drives in the Swiss cantons and German territories. An important Berlin daily celebrated the arrival in Rio of 800 individuals from Fribourg and encouraged commoners to follow suit, offering information about ship departures, advance

no. 121 (7 Oct. 1820), no. 136 (11 Nov. 1820); Theodor von Leithold and Ludwig von Rango, *O Rio de Janeiro visto por dois prussianos em 1819* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1966), 49–52, 137; Decree (12 July 1819); Nicoulin, *La Genèse*, 33–42; Fernand Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce: Civilization & Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, vol. 2 (New York: Harper, 1982), 28–40, 82–94. Nova Friburgo colonos also became slaveowners: Rodrigo Martins Marretto, *A escravidão velada: Senhores e escravos na formação da vila de São João Batista de Nova Friburgo (1820–1850)* (Rio de Janeiro: Revan, 2018).

[48] Pedro Machado de Miranda Malheiro, *Providências para a jornada da Colonia Suissa desde o pôrto do Rio de Janeiro até á Nova Friburgo* (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Régia, 1819); Thomé da Fonseca e Silva, "Breve notícia sobre a colonia de suissos fundada em Nova Friburgo," *RIHGB* 12, no. 2 (Apr.–June 1849): 137–142.

[49] Nicoulin, *La Genèse*, 170–171, counts 2,013 departing emigrants with 311 dying during travel, but I base my calulation on AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}120 "Registro Geral para a Colonia dos Suissos" (5 Nov. 1819).

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payments, and Swiss emigration agents. By June, another 800 or so emigrants from Darmstadt, Wittgenstein, and the Palatinate (all close to Freyreiss's hometown of Frankfurt, which suggests his or his associates' involvement) awaited voyage to Bahia. Due to forest fires and drought conditions across the Swiss cantons, the newpaper estimated that 1,000 more would emigrate to Brazil over the summer, which incited all classes of speculators to spring to action. Gachet himself began charging a per capita surcharge as part of his profit-seeking practices.[50] The radius of recruitment expanded in lockstep with opportunities for self-enrichment. From November 1819 to February 1820, nine ships entered Rio from Hamburg, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Le Havre, carrying 2,228 colonos.[51]

Yet these voyages still confronted significant hardships, providing important cautionary tales for Luso-Brazilian statesmen. Prussian galleon *Deigluckhache Reise* landed in Rio from Rotterdam with 432 colonos after 68 days at sea, a dangerously long voyage for a packed vessel. The *Trajano*, which carried colonos' baggage and implements, arrived more than a month later than scheduled due to inclement weather. Leaving Amsterdam with a full passenger load, the *Camilus* ran into a sand bank, unnecessarily lengthening the trip. A Swiss committee in London accused these shipments' organizers of prevaricating, citing their thriftiness on travel accommodations and failure to measure lands in advance at Nova Friburgo.[52] Worried about such recriminations, Vilanova Portugal cautioned his Hamburg minister, "only once this [colony] has consolidated will we try others."[53]

These new reservations against government involvement in emigration drives buoyed private efforts of a more exemplary nature such as those led by Langsdorff. Having set up his own fazenda, which he called Mandioca, at the feet of the Serra da Estrela in Guanabara Bay, Langsdorff set out to Europe to recruit colonos in 1820. He published a guide for emigrants in Paris and an expanded German edition in Heidelberg by early 1821. His

[50] *Berlinische Nachrichten*, nos. 2, 42, 55, 61, 62, 68, 70 (5 Jan., 8 Apr., 8, 22, 25 May, 8, 12 June 1819).

[51] *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, nos. 89, 7, 101 (6 Nov., 4, 18 Dec. 1819); *Correio Braziliense* 22, no. 133 (Jan. 1819): 646; 24, no. 140 (Jan. 1820); no. 12 (9 Feb. 1820); BNd, Manuscritos-I-33,26,015, Estevão de Rezende, "Mapa dos estrangeiros cujos nomes se acham descritos nos livros da matrícula feita pela Intendência Geral da Polícia até o dia 30 de outubro de 1817."

[52] *Correio Braziliense* 27, no. 160 (July 1821): 338–340.

[53] ATT, Estrangeiros-Hamburgo, cx. 120-pasta 1, Vilanova Portugal to Corrêa (28 Apr. 1819).

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goal, he claimed, "was not to hire colonists, nor to encourage European migrations to Brazil, but simply to bring incontestable facts ... to those who may be interested."[54] He reproduced a decree by Vilanova Portugal defining admission rules and favors for colonos as well as travel costs. In the German edition, he also added a section with "Special Thoughts" on the utility of *Unternehmer* (middlemen or contractors), recommending one by the name of H. G. Schmidt. Langsdorff returned to Rio with somewhere between 80 and 103 German colonos in tow.

At Mandioca, Langsdorff built a profit machine propelled by these workers needs, labor, and debts. Colonos paid 10 percent of their production, a 10 percent government tax legally supposed to begin after ten years of residency but charged by Langsdorff to cover property and transport expenses, and yet another 10 percent for using Mandioca's waterways for milling. In turn, they had access to tools, lumber, food rations, communal plots, and a few beasts of burden. Langsdorff intended Mandioca as a model, and to that end he hosted and aided his countrymen in scientific and colonization pursuits, especially other Göttingen alumni like Eschwege, prince Maximilian, and Schäffer. However, his setup in fact required an excessive degree of close management and inevitably entailed significant inequities. When Langsdorff left on a pioneering river voyage from Porto Feliz in São Paulo to Belém in 1824, his colonos rapidly absconded, including some substitutes he had brought from Nova Friburgo. In 1826, the imperial government bought his property and closed lingering contractual obligations with remaining workers. A short time later Langsdorff's hired manager published a scathing account of the Mandioca experiment.[55]

* * *

[54] Georg von Langsdorff, *Mémoire sur le Brésil, pour servir de guide à ceux qui désirent s'y établir* (Paris: L'imprimerie de Denugon, 1820); *Bemerkungen über Brasilien: mit gewissenhafter Belehrung für auswandernde Deutsche* (Heidelberg: Karl Groos, 1821); Débora Bendocchi Alves, "Langsdorff e a imigração," *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, no. 35 (1993): 167–178.

[55] Guenrikh Manizer, *A expedição do acadêmico G. I. Langsdorff ao Brasil, 1821–1828* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1967); Roderick Barman, "The Forgotten Journey: Georg Heinrich Langsdorff and the Russian Imperial Scientific Expedition to Brazil, 1821–1829," *Terrae Incognitae* 3, no. 1 (1971): 74; Friedrich von Weech, *Brasiliens gegenwärtiger Zustand und Colonialsystem, besonders in Bezug auf Landbau und Handel, zunächst für Auswanderer* (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1828), 225–227; Renata Menasche, "O guia de Friedrich von Weech; impressões de um imigrante alemão no Brasil do século XIX," *Estudos Sociedade e Agricultura* 5 (1995): 132–140.

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Langsdorff's enterprise coincided with momentous political transformations, and together with them crafted a definition of colonization that endured into Brazil's independence. In 1820, as Langsdorff sailed to Europe, the Liberal Revolution broke out in Porto. Its victors quickly recalled João VI to Portugal to attend a constituent Courts in Lisbon, which, especially when the king arrived in August 1821, threatened to roll back years of political gains for Brazil, as metropolitan deputies considered reverting the kingdom to a colonial status.[56] Interestingly, Brazilian representatives responded with a repertoire of proposals rooted in colonization, much of it informed by German ideas and acquaintances over the prior decade. Representing São Paulo, José Bonifácio, for instance, suggested replacing sesmarias with land sales to yield revenue for "colonization with poor Europeans, Indians, mulattos and free blacks."[57] Colonization, he believed, could also prepare a new seat for the Court in Brazil's interior, where rivers and roads would connect the Brazilian capital to coastal ports, and forest preservation and land surveying would make way for "Cities and Settlements."[58]

In April 1822, as Pedro de Bragança declared Brazil free from Portugal, the Unterhammer mentioned in Langsdorff's tract, H. G. Schmidt, coincidentally sent a proposal to the Courts suggesting how to direct migrations to Brazil in ways that surpassed Russia or the United States.[59] Having lived in Holland, the United States, Germany, and Brazil, Schmidt authoritatively listed his simple recommendations: speedier embarkations to lower mortality rates, fixing transport costs, appointing a plenipotentiary colonization director in German lands. Yet his most important proposal hinged on organizing colonization juntas at the provincial level to cover transport costs, distribute land and supplies, naturalize colonos upon arrival, and eventually collect a portion of colonos'

[56] Gladys Sabina Ribeiro, "A construção da liberdade e de uma identidade nacional. Corte do Rio de Janeiro, fins do XVIII e início do XIX," in *História e cidadania*, ed. Ismênia Martins et al. (São Paulo: Humanitas, 1998), 487–503; Antonio Penalves Rocha, *A recolonização do Brasil pelas Cortes* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2009).

[57] Márcia Motta, *Direito à terra no Brasil: A gestação do conflito, 1795–1824* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2009), 201–207, 219–227, 240.

[58] IHGB-(jb), Lata 175-pasta 62, José Bonifácio to Vilanova Portugal (18 May 1820); lata 192-pasta 52-doc. 2, "Notas sobre administração e agricultura" (undated); José Bonifácio, *Lembranças e apontamentos do governo provisório da província de São Paulo para os seus deputados* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1821). See also Ana Rosa Cloclet da Silva, *Construção da nação e escravidão no pensamento de José Bonifácio, 1783–1823* (Campinas: Unicamp, 1999).

[59] AN, Diversos-cod. 807, vol. 11, ff. 95–106.

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production. In short, Schmidt had drawn the blueprint of a country-wide system of colonization administration that defined Brazilian statesmen's post-independence aspirations thanks to the fact that a deputy from Bahia, Domingo Borges de Barros, took up these ideas when he addressed the Lisbon Courts.

A proven improver, and a founding honorary member of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, Borges did not explicitly cite Schmidt, but he called for an identical system as that proposed by Schmidt – a centralized five-member colonization junta would oversee provincial efforts, each revolving around regional *caixas* (treasuries) tasked with administering colonies and Indian villages.[60] Importantly, Borges also made space for private entrepreneurs to run colonization drives at their own expense. The proposal audaciously synthesized recent colonization lessons with the unmistakable mark of German involvement, but ill-fated disagreements at the Courts foreclosed discussion.

Seeing themselves outnumbered, the Brazilian deputies at the Lisbon Courts fled in secret, rushing to Brazil to join the campaign for severing ties with Portugal. After Brazilian independence in 1822, they would attempt to implement versions of Schmidt's and Borges's ideas for decades to come. By then, they held a keen, if incipient, awareness of colonization's evolving arcs. In its form as peopling, it had mutated from an old-regime governmental tool into an urgent defensive stratagem when the royal household most needed it, before turning into an instrument for long-term development. All the while, these statesmen believed, peopling had served to preempt an attack on the Crown's new abode and to appease both the British and the Holly Alliance. After 1815 and especially with Leopoldina's arrival two years later, German ideas and interests invigorated colonization as an emergent sphere of private speculative pursuits. Bearing in mind the innumerable variables of that dynamic, some understood the need for a novel governmental approach, one that preserved directed migration as a profitable business without relinquishing the involvement of the newly independent government.

[60] *Diários das Cortes Geraes, Extraordinárias, e Constituintes da Nação Portugueza*, vol. 5 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1822), 538–542; *The Laws of the Philadelphia Society for Agriculture* (Philadelphia Society for Agriculture, 1819); Motta, *Direito à terra*, 221–227.

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2

Marching to the Homestead

Colonization in the Crosshairs of the Long Post-Independence

At the break of dawn on 2 March 1826, colonization inspector Miranda Malheiro received the news of the *Anna Luiza*'s arrival. Aboard the Hamburg galley came 38 men, 35 women, 111 children, and 4 newborns plus 157 soldiers and 22 officers of different ranks recruited by Pedro I, emperor of Brazil (1822–1831). The ship had arrived four days earlier, but miscommunications between the Colonization Directorate and the deputy director of Telegraphs delayed the announcement and kept the 367 colonos onboard. Once alerted, Miranda Malheiro activated the protocol. Indisposed due to age, he sent his secretary, a minor poet later employed by the Empire ministry, to welcome the passengers. At the Navy dock, the ship's consignee and the Low Countries' consul in Rio awaited. Some cabinet members joined as the passengers landed. At this point, the Colonization Inspector's official translator, himself a Saxony native, offered a welcome message ending with a spirited declamation. "Long Live our Emperor! Long live our Empress!" One can almost hear the silence of the weary travelers.[1]

After 88 days at sea, their voyage was anything but over. The non-military colonos were rapidly transported to a warehouse at Praia Grande, where they were fed and housed until authorities determined their final destination (Figure 2.1). Though roughshod as an accommodation, these installations across the bay from Rio became the first migrant reception center with any institutional mooring, as the warehouse was repurposed into transitory housing for colonos only by the Colonization Directorate's initiative. The mercenaries, in turn, would soon depart on a coasting vessel

[1] AMI, CIB-II-PAN-02.03.1826-Mal.c 1–2; *Diário Fluminense*, no. 55 (9 Mar. 1826).

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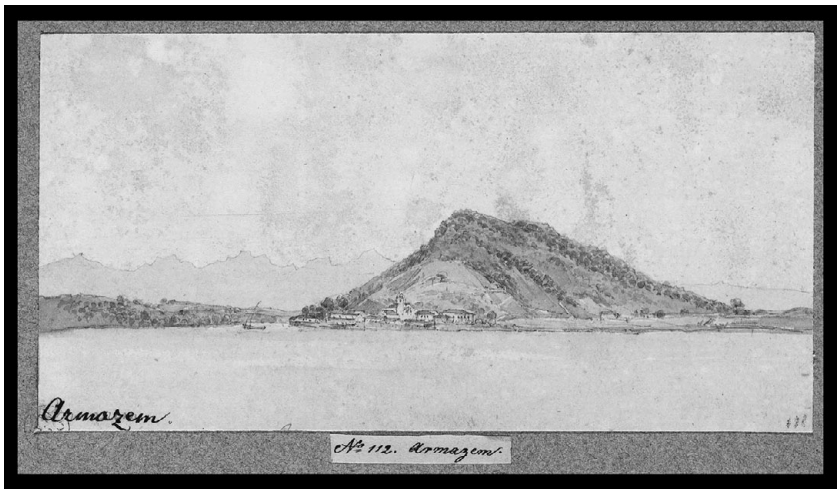

FIGURE 2.1 Roughshod novelty: Warehouse storage area in Praia Grande (present-day Niterói)
BNd-Iconografia C.I,4,10, Thomas Ender, "Armazém," (detail, watercolor) in "Zeichnungen von Schiffen, Gräsern und Figuren" (c.1817). Courtesy of Fundação Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil.

to the warfront in southern Brazil, where a secessionist conflict in the Cisplatina province had prompted Pedro I into a full-on war with Buenos Aires starting in 1825.

The emperor reveled in these shipments. Word had it that he visited his foreign conscripts daily in the Praia Vermelha barracks next to the Pão de Açúcar boulder guarding the entry to Guanabara Bay. Only his German stallions elicited greater interest according to what empress Leopoldina told her confidante and Pedro I's own purveyor of colonos and German warmbloods, Georg Anton von Schäffer. By Leopoldina's own suggestion, Pedro I actually named Schäffer chargé d'affaires in the free Hanseatic cities and the lower Saxony with orders to recruit 2,000 soldiers.[2] A beautiful thing to behold these uniformed soldiers were in Pedro's eyes – so much so that in his visit to Salvador to rally for Cisplatina support, he ordered an additional contingent from Lower Saxony to discipline Bahia's troubled ranks.[3]

[2] Leopoldina to Georg Anton von Schäffer (15 Mar. 1825), in Arquivo Nacional, *A Imperatriz Maria Leopoldina: documentos interessantes publicados para comemorar o primeiro centenário da sua morte* (Rio de Janeiro: Archivo Nacional, 1926), 134–139.
[3] APEB, mç. 4608, Schäffer (copy) (14 Nov. 1826); Decree (30 Jan.), *CLIB* (1826) vol. 1, 12.

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Anna Luiza's landing, the ceremonials held for it, the personnel employed, and the military destination of most of its men all demonstrated the rapid gains in colonization management at the hand of the Brazilian executive. These features also evinced a growing specialization in migrant recruitment and reception. Overseas, Schäffer lured young conscripts under Pedro I's direct orders, signed contracts, and shipped these and other colonos at cost to either imperial coffers or private individuals. In Rio, a special directorate with its own officials and translators greeted and funneled them to agricultural or military tasks.

These gains came at a price, however. After Brazilian independence, prince Pedro initially sanctioned a Constitutional Assembly in 1823 but arbitrarily shuttered it and exiled its leaders before its proceedings concluded. Then, he handpicked a posse of counselors to write what became the Brazilian Constitution of 1824. Under the constitutional monarchical system, Pedro I's authority clashed continuously with a novice parliament possessing a heightened consciousness of its attributions.[4] In this scenario, colonization became a crucial battleground. Executive control of colonization put the emperor at odds with the fledgling legislative power by secretly carrying out unsanctioned military recruitments abroad, and monopolizing petitionary processes related to colonization, which widened the chasm between the two developing spheres of sovereign power. Colonization therefore came to embody a foundational constitutional impasse that only resolved itself when foreign troops inflamed nativist rallying calls against the emperor and gave disenchanted lawmakers necessary leverage to foreclose Pedro I's options and force him to abdicate.

This chapter traces the successive political uses and meanings of colonization in the first decade of Brazilian independence. Colonization became a site of contention between the constituted executive and legislative powers precisely because legal frameworks to direct migrations and land distribution remained at large. In the absence of statutes, monarch and lawmakers competed fiercely for the jurisdiction of colonizing endeavors as well as for their meaning. Yet, far from a simple tug of war, this constitutional conflict was riven and swayed by multiple military conflicts, including the Cisplatina war (1825–1828) and the Portuguese Civil War sparked by the royal succession crisis (1828–1834), not to mention

[4] For an overview, see Marisa Saenz Leme, "El imperio del Brasil y el primer reinado (1822–1831)," in *Y dejó de ser colonia: Una historia de la independencia de Brasil* , ed. João Paulo Pimenta (Madrid: Sílex Ultramar, 2021), 151–196.

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the colono riots that ransacked Rio in 1828. And, still, even after his abdication in 1831, Pedro, known thereafter as the duke of Bragança, continued to haunt Brazilian lawmakers' attempts to repurpose colonization to their ends, as they feared rumors of a plan by the erstwhile emperor to "recolonize" Brazil with foreign mercenaries. The executive's expedient application of colonization toward immediate political ends frustrated efforts to manage colonization proposals under a uniform legal framework during this period. Nonetheless, executive monopoly of colonization did establish the first recruitment and conveyance mechanisms that would make possible future colono transport and arrival policies. Hence, these mechanisms awoke Brazilian statesmen to the utility of colonizing endeavors in times of crisis and beyond.

CONSTITUTING EMPIRE: INDEPENDENCE, COLONIZATION AND THE EXECUTIVE

The new prince regent Pedro swore to preserve the unity of the Crown as his father João VI rushed to the Lisbon Courts. But by 1822, Pedro adhered to the call for Brazilian independence. Initially hailed as a unifying force, newly minted emperor Pedro I soon instigated profound disagreements with a rising cadre of Brazilian statesmen about the mode and style of government most appropriate for the Brazilian Empire. Notably, colonization became a symptom, a lever, and a casualty of these differences. The emperor and Brazilian lawmakers understood the importation of foreigners, many of whom directly served Pedro I, in radically divergent ways. Their difference in perspective not only reflected opposing viewpoints about sovereign attributions but contributed directly to a deepening cleavage between the exective and the legislative that set back attempts to codify and regulate colonization for many years.

Both Pedro I and the Chamber of Deputies installed in 1826 agreed on peopling as a kind of panacea that could drive economic growth, protect sovereign territory, and address many other post-independence challenges. José Bonifácio set the bases for this view by orchestrating an executive scheme for importing colonos that would soon antagonize the Constitutional Assembly. In August 1822, he instructed Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes, Brazil's new chargé in London, to hire several fully armed and equipped "Irish regiments . . . under the guise of colonos" in case Portugal invaded. As news that the Portuguese Cortes procured loans for a 4,000-strong army to storm Pará, Brant Pontes scrambled to gather sailors and navy supplies. He sent 170 sailors and 6 officers by

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early 1823, taking advantage of the high unemployment rate among British Navy officers. When he got wind of the Holy Alliance's plan to withdraw diplomats from Madrid and restore absolutism in Spain, he hurriedly sent another 265 men and a dozen officers, focusing on conscripts who could be "employed as colonos upon the termination of their military service."[5]

But José Bonifácio also used colonization to leverage support from Europe's conservative monarchies. In his instructions for a secret mission to Austria, Prussia, and the German states, he told Schäffer to gather intelligence on the Holy Alliance while recruiting soldiers to establish a military colony in Brazil "with more or less the same organization as that of the Cossacks on the Don and Ural rivers." The reference to Russian military colonies betrayed a fascination with tsar Alexander I's campaigns against religious sectarians in the Russian steppes. Even though Russians regarded Brazil as little more than a jocular moniker for Siberia, their "Russian Brazil," for José Bonifácio Russia epitomized a resurgent monarchism.[6] Fashioning colonos into Cossacks, José Bonifácio sought to appeal to the Holy Alliance's imagination but also its pecuniary interests. "Make European powers," he instructed his minister in Vienna, "feel the importance of Brazil as similar to that of their Italian possessions, which could open with us an advantageous commerce. . .." However, in 1826 Austria's prince Metternich rebuffed Brazilian efforts to convince Francis I, Pedro I's father-in-law, to provide soldier-settlers for Brazil, citing Brazil's lack of a "proper system" – a veiled way for an absolutist monarchist to criticize the inauguration of the Brazilian parliament. Luckily, José Bonifácio's instructions to Schäffer also assimilated lessons from British colonies, indicating that soldiers with expired contracts would receive land in Minas Gerais or Bahia "on the same foot as the English colonization of New Holland and the Cape of Good Hope," a reference that British dignitaries would understand as they brokered the recognition of Brazilian independence in 1824.[7]

[5] José Bonifácio to Brant Pontes (12 Aug., 4 Oct. 1822), *ADI*, vol. 1, 7–12, 15–17; Brian Vale, *Independence or Death! British Sailors and Brazilian Independence, 1822–25* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996), 24–33.

[6] Nicholas Breyfogle, *Heretics and Colonizers: Forging Russia's Empire in the South Caucasus* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 23–35; Mark Bassin, "Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century," *AHR* 96, no. 3 (1991): 763–794.

[7] José Bonifácio to Schäffer (21 Aug. 1822), to Antonio Telles da Silva (5 Apr. 1823), Telles da Silva to José Bonifácio (29 Sept. 1823), *ADI*, vol. 4, 6–8, 60–80, 285–287; Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 112–114.

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Colonization with mercenary soldiers strengthened Brazil's defensive capabilities at the cost of political polarization. The new regiment of 2,532 mercenary soldiers and high officers easily resolved the dearth of recruits that drove the War minister to consider commuting sentences for prisoners who joined the navy and organizing artillery battalions with freedmen. But also, secretly hiring foreign conscripts under the emperor's orders gave José Bonifácio an upper hand over adversaries, including those opposing these troops in the pages of radical liberal papers like Pernambuco's *Sentinella da Liberdade*.[8]

Moderates largely agreed on the need for a monarchical executive balanced by other powers, but controversies remained regarding the executive's range of liberties within the other branches. Masonic lodges then consolidating under the umbrella of the Grande Oriente do Brasil fostered this debate, for which reason José Bonifácio tried to co-opt them and later eliminate them. After organizing a secret society known as the Apostolate, which envisioned a monarch with broad powers of intervention in other branches, he succeeded in becoming the Grande Oriente's *grão-mestre* (headmaster). He then quickly pivoted against the lodge, instigating Pedro not only to banish his fellow Masons, whom he described as "Republicans assuming the guise of Monarchists," but to proscribe all masonic activities. The move strengthened José Bonifácio's hand in molding a strong executive from behind the scenes. Interestingly, some of those affected denounced his actions as a Holy Alliance scheme. Indeed, at the time, José Bonifácio also sought Vienna's favor by secretly instructing his Austrian envoy to propose that Brazil could "gradually convert the republics in Spanish colonies back into monarchies," a conceit that illustrated the magnitude of his plans.[9]

A migrant crisis, however, brought colonization into discussion and obligated José Bonifácio to refer the matter to the Constitutional Assembly for it to oversee the very kind of migrant recruitments he had already started without its consent. In April 1823, the Germans from southern Bahia had allegedly walked back on their commitments to two recently arrived colono cohorts from Frankfurt totaling 259 individuals.

[8] Decree (8 Jan.), *CLIB* (1823), vol. 2, 2–4; *Sentinella da Liberdade*, no. 27 (5 July 1823).

[9] Neill Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798–1834* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1986), 129–130, 148–149; Alexandre Mansur Barata, *Maçonaria, sociabilidade ilustrada e independência do Brasil, 1790–1822* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2006), 218–248; BNd, Manuscritos-05,01,043, Cipriano Barata de Almeida, "Motivos da minha perseguição e desgraça" (1823); *Sentinella da Liberdade* no. 35 (2 Aug. 1823).

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District authorities in Ilhéus wrote to the government requesting emergency funds to feed and house the newcomers, who had arrived with the expectation of receiving land, shelter, and food rations for two years, as promised by German empresarios. The Assembly, whose delegates included José Bonifácio's brothers, Martim Francisco and Antônio Carlos, appointed a special commission to oversee the petition and later recommended that colonos receive municipal lands as well as free agricultural tools and financial assistance for two years. The commission, whose majority hailed from Minas Gerais, also showed interest in alternative placements. "Because some colonos might be miners, weavers, tanners, etc., and as such could be adequately employed elsewhere," it asked municipal officers to "send a list declaring their respective professions."[10]

In applying these recommendations, the Assembly walked a thin line between its mandate to draft the constituent bases of a new empire and to delimit the competent exercise of executive functions. The Andrada brothers did not oppose this as long as they were in power. They publicly defended equality among three prospective branches of government but privately preferred a strong executive that could keep lawmakers in check. Pedro I agreed. In his opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, he exhorted delegates to mold a constitution "in which the three powers are well divided so that none can self-arrogate rights that they are not entitled to, but instead are organized and harmonized in a way that makes it impossible for them to turn into each other's enemy later in time."[11] With this outward appearance as faithful moderates and their opportunistic loosening of the bounds of executive authority, the Andradas successfully brought their political opponents to their knees. In clearing the way for a strong executive, the Andradas thus opened a road of no return for the young emperor's ambitions and for the continuation of an unaccountable, confidential colonization project.

Yet in the following months, the Andradas' newspaper, *O Tamoio*, strained the spirit of collaboration with an increasingly defensive Pedro when it joined a Lusophobic protestation against Portuguese subjects in government and military positions. Invectives reached a high pitch in a public manifestation on 5 November, when Martim Francisco and

[10] 12 May, *Diário da Assembléa Geral, Constituinte, e Legislativa do Império do Brasil*, no. 8 (1823); *Actas das Sessões da Assembléa Geral, Constituinte, e Legislativa, do Império do Brasil*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Nacional, 1823), 78–80.

[11] Câmara dos Deputados, *Fallas do Throno desde o Anno de 1823 até o anno de 1872 acompanhadas dos respectivos votos de graças da Câmara Temporária* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1872), 27.

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Antônio Carlos turned a pharmacist allegedly beaten by two Portuguese officers into a standard-bearer against all Portuguese and prodded a raucous crowd to call for the officers' deportation or hanging. A week later, the Assembly found itself surrounded on all sides by Pedro's imperial guard in a daring display of executive force. By day's end, the emperor had issued a decree dissolving it.[12] The Andradas, along with many delegates, were escorted to exile.

To draft a new constitution, Pedro I activated a Conselho de Estado (Council of State), a consultative body for the executive. The Conselho served as a conduit for a "fourth power" defined as the "moderating power" by Benjamin Constant on the basis of Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre's distinction between royal and executive authority. As part of the moderating power, the Conselho advised the monarch in the exercise of his veto power over the deliberative branches of government.[13] To fill this important body, Pedro I selected a Brazilian-born intelligentsia trained at the University of Coimbra that possessed a track record of service to the Braganças. João Severiano Maciel da Costa, for instance, served as governor of French Guiana from 1809 to 1817 and accompanied João VI in his return to Lisbon in 1821 as a "King's favorite" (*valido d'el Rei*). Interestingly, Maciel had a proven interest in colonization, having described Rio Grande do Sul as a haven "calling out ... for Colonies of European workers."[14] Another member of the Conselho, José Feliciano Fernandes Pinheiro, the Arco do Cego disciple who authored a memória on Rio Grande do Sul in 1819, later grounded Pedro I's vision of a militarized homesteading frontier by presiding over Rio Grande do Sul soon after 1824 and organizing the São Leopoldo

[12] Macaulay, *Dom Pedro*, 125–132, 145–158.

[13] Technically, the Conselho was an executive body, although José Antônio Pimenta Bueno described it as a legislative "antechamber" ("Primeira Câmara") that informed the moderating power. In his influential *Direito público brasileiro e análise da Constituição do Império* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imp. E Const. de J. Villeneuve & C.,1857), he clarified that the Conselho seeped into every level and branch of government by allowing the emperor to dissolve the Chamber, pick senators (one out of an elected trio), authorize laws, name or fire ministers and justices, and grant amnesties and commutations. See José Honório Rodrigues, "Introdução histórica," in *Atas do Conselho de Estado: Conselho dos Procuradores Gerais das Províncias do Brasil, 1822–1823* (www.senado.leg.br/publicacoes/); Eduardo Kugelmas, ed. *Marquês de São Vicente* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2002), 365–394; Tobias Monteiro, *História do Império: O Primeiro Reinado*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: F. Briguet & Cia., 1939), 35–36.

[14] João Severiano Maciel da Costa, *Memória sobre a necessidade de abolir a introdução dos escravos africanos no Brasil* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1821), 39–41, 71–72; Fernandes Pinheiro, *Anais*.

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colony, a settlement north of Porto Alegre meant to welcome the German colonos sent by Schäffer.[15]

Colonization embodied and channeled conflicted constitutional expectations, as mercenary recruitments and the abandoned colonos in Ilhéus brought questions to the forefront regarding the form and function of the first post-independence Brazilian government. Those who backed a strong executive (one later enhanced by the moderating power) approved of Pedro I's Prussian conscripts, while those who aspired for parliamentary ascendancy in a constitutional monarchy held hopes that the Ilhéus debacle would return that power to the legislature, paving the way for codifying colonization affairs. Pedro I resolved these disagreements by dissolving the Constitutional Assembly and preempting deputies averse to his unchecked exercise of power. But he also jettisoned José Bonifácio, the very mastermind of his secret recruitments. Yet, with the Conselho's constitution, the new emperor surrounded himself with figures who would bolster his colonization campaigns and help him consolidate his own Preatorian vision of the state.

DEVELOPING THE FIRST COLONIZATION RECRUITMENT NETWORK

Back in Europe, Schäffer remained hard at work under the orders originally delivered by José Bonifácio. In following them, always with characteristic cunning and a good measure of improvisation, Schäffer organized Brazil's first colonization recruitment network, which became a kind of object lesson for innumerable colono-recruiting campaigns thereafter. Later campaigns, however, could only aspire to match Schäffer's perseverance and sagacity. Despite a cold reception in Vienna, Schäffer stuck to his mission, and in many ways he remained the right man for the job. Growing up in Bavaria, he was familiar with the centuries-old *Soldatenverkauf* or *Soldatenhandel* (sale or trade in soldiers), which gradually disintegrated after 1815 due to changing societal codes and territorial boundaries.[16] As a Freemason, however, Schäffer displeased prince Metternich, who allegedly told him that "a people should never

[15] Carlos Hunsche, *Biênio 1824/25 da imigração e colonização alemã no Rio Grande do Sul (Província de São Pedro)* (Porto Alegre: A Nação, 1975); Hermógenes S. Filho, "O processo de colonização no Rio Grande do Sul: o caso de São Leopoldo no século XIX" (PhD diss., UFRS, 2008).

[16] Peter Wilson, "The German 'Soldier Trade' of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Reassessment," *The International History Review* 18, no. 4 (1996): 757–792; Sarah

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have free will" in reference to Brazilian independence. A better reception awaited him in Munich, where a cousin at the Court of Auditors paved the way for green-lighting his recruitments in the Palatinate.[17]

Shäffer employed great savvy to shape what was, by most accounts, an underground operation. He did so because he was fully aware of the delicate and time-sensitive nature of his mission. Knowing that Metternich cautioned allies against him, Schäffer stealthily continued his activities in Hamburg, where local authorities spied on him and shared intelligence with Portuguese officials. Yet Hamburg authorities could not formally accuse Schäffer since the ships he chartered took on passengers beyond their jurisdiction farther along the Elbe, in Altona.[18] Much of his ingenious strategies stemmed from the politically urgent character of his instructions to respond to a growing need for overseas mercenaries loyal to the monarch and committed to Brazilian independence against the Portuguese. Indeed, at the time, Portuguese officials despaired for details on Pedro I's military preparations precisely because they were also seeking Holy Alliance support to recolonize Brazil. In addition, a separatist republican rebellion in Pernambuco led to the declaration of the Confederation of the Equator in 1824 and brought to the fore the need for the emperor to possess a reliable line of internal defense.[19]

With little aid and mostly at his own cost, Schäffer set up a recruitment network that tenaciously expanded Brazilian executive power by eluding both local and Brazilian statesmen's surveillance. In Hamburg, he moved around continuously to avoid detection, settling eventually at a home in the Neustadt quarter close to the Elbe owned by a man whom Eduard Bösche, a conscript to Brazil, later identified as his secretary. Starting with this secretary, Schäffer also threaded a web of collaborators who crucially furnished credit after the Brazilian minister in London refused to

Percy, *Mercenaries: The History of a Norm in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 94–166.

[17] AMI, II-POB-22.09.1828-Sch.c, Schäffer to Pedro I (23 Nov. 1828); Carlos Oberacker, *Jorge Antônio von Schaeffer, criador da primeira corrente emigratória alemã para o Brasil* (Porto Alegre: Metrópole, 1975), 13–17.

[18] ATT, Estrangeiros-Hamburgo, cx. 120, syndic [Vincent] Oldenburg to João Antônio Nobre (30 Aug. 1824).

[19] Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra independência: O federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2004); Jeffrey Mosher, *Political Struggle, Ideology, and State Building: Pernambuco and the Construction of Brazil, 1817–1850* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

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reimburse his expenses with funds tied to Nathaniel Rothschild's Brazilian loan of 1824.[20]

Eventually, despite his great mettle, Schäffer lost importance in the eyes of a distracted Pedro I. Schäffer's standing further waned with the death of Leopoldina in 1826.[21] Interestingly, however, in the face of this threatening demotion Schäffer revealed two crucial dimensions of his work: the extent and nature of his network and his expectation that colonization recruitment would yield personal gains, including for his circle of collaborators. Schäffer tried to cash in on his services as early as August 1825, as he wrote to announce that ships *Caroline*, *Tritton*, *Wilhelmine*, and *Fortuna* e *Georg Friedrick* had set sail with colonos. Concomitantly, he asked for authority to make consular and vice-consular appointments, including of his associate, businessman Louis Friederich Kalkmann, as consul to Bremen.[22] Later, in 1826, Schäffer furnished Pedro I with a list of individuals deserving favors for publicly supporting Brazilian recruitment efforts. The list included residents of the Hanse Cities and the German lowlands, three members of the Société Royale de Sciences de Paris, a lawyer from the Prussian shipyard of Rostock, and Schäffer's own sister in Göttingen. Like Schäffer, several of these collaborators were confirmed Masons, and those residing in Hanover may have aided him when an arrest order was issued for a Schäffer aide recruiting in the Schwerin-Mecklenburg prisons.[23]

These return favors paled in comparison to Schäffer's advocacy for himself. Surely, Schäffer had already received some important recognitions. He had been inducted into the Real Ordem do Cristo in 1822, for instance, and when Hamburg's surveillance forced him to move to Lubeck and Bremen, he obtained a formal appointment to Lower

[20] ATT, cx. 120, Oldenburg to Nobre (30 Aug. 1824); Eduard Theodor Bösche, "Quadros alternados de viagens terrestres e marítimas, aventuras, acontecimentos políticos, descripção de usos e costumes de povos durante uma viagem ao Brasil e uma permanência de dez annos neste paíz, dos annos de 1825 a 1834," *RIHGB* 83 (1918 [1836]): 133–241; AMI, II-POB-24.03.1824-Sch.rt, Schäffer to Empire minister Luís José de Carvalho e Melo (24 Mar. 1824); II-POB-17.01.1826-Sch.c1–5, Schäffer to Pedro I (Göttingen, 17, 25 Jan. 1826), (Hamburg, 24 Apr., 30 Aug. 1826), (Bremen, 30 Aug. 1826); Oberacker, *Jorge Antônio*, 17.

[21] AMI, II-POB-22.09.1828-Sch.c, Schäffer to Pedro I (22 Sept. 1828); II-POB-26.01.1829-Sch.rq, Schäffer to Pedro I (26 Jan. 26; 12 Nov. 1829).

[22] AMI, II-POB-00.01.1825-Sch.c 1–9; II-POB-22.09.1828-Sch.c, Schäffer to Pedro I (20 Aug. 1825, 23 Nov. 1828).

[23] AMI, II-POB-22.09.1828-Sch.c; II-POB-26.01.1829-Sch.rq, Schäffer to Pedro I (23 Nov. 1828, 26 Jan. 1829).

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Saxony. But Schäffer wanted more and was not timid about bringing it up. In an overview of his services since 1820, he reminded the emperor of his seizure of an 180-conto cargo of pau-brasil in 1824 sent by the Pernambuco rebels to the Portuguese consul.[24] He had also written a massive and meticulous tract on the Brazilian Empire that gained ample readership but made him a target of Holy Alliance sympathizers. On account of his sacrifices, Schäffer requested Brazilian naturalization, a post as chargé at Hannover and the Hanse cities, the title of visconde de Frankental Jacarandá, and a pension payable to a business associate who was coincidentally billing the Empire ministry for a loan Schäffer had contracted in Bremen for colono transports.[25]

With his profit-minded jockeying for rewards, Schäffer raised the next generation of colonization promoters. Kalkmann, the consul at Bremen, quickly earned his stripes as a colonization agent by sending the ship *Fortuna* with 245 colonos to Brazil in 1828.[26] Daniel Hilldebrand, a Schäffer-appointed commissioner on another such trip, became the director of the São Leopoldo colony established in 1824 and produced its first migrant arrival record and land registry.[27] These petty entrepreneurs took up new roles in an expanding logistics of arrivals and settlement spurred by the estimated 1,891 soldiers and 665 colonos sent by Schäffer to Brazil from 1823 to 1828. In doing so, they helped to streamline reception measures so that so-called spontaneous migrants who had come by their own accord began to receive the welcome given to the *Anna Luiza* at the beginning of this chapter. In May 1826, for example, Miranda Malheiro greeted the 70 families of the *Frederico Henrique* with 293$333 in funds from "his own pocket," as he later reminded Pedro I in

[24] AMI, II-POB-22.09.1828-Sch.c, Schäffer to Pedro I (22 Sept., 23 Nov. 1828).

[25] AMI, II-POB-22.09.1828-Sch.c, Jorge Brittain Scheiner to Empire minister (17 Aug. 1828).

[26] AMI, I-POB-04.06.1829-Kal.cf 1–2, Paulo Medosi to L. F. Kalkmann (Plymouth, 19 Dec. 1828); Luís Frederico Kalkmann, "Estado das colonias estrangeiras," in *Annuario politico, histórico e estatístico do Brazil: 1847* (Rio de Janeiro: Firmin Didot, 1847), 412–439; AMI, II-DJK-18.01.1847-Bri.a, Empire minister Joaquim Marcelino de Brito to Pedro de Araújo Lima, visconde de Olinda (18 Jan. 1847); IHGB-(0), Lata 217-doc. 1, "Parecer … sobre representação de L.K. Kalkmann e J. Fr. Koeler que se propõem a formar uma companhia para estabelecer colonias no Império."

[27] Carlos Hunsche, *Primórdios da vida judicial de São Leopoldo* (Porto Alegre: Escola Superior de Teologia São Lourenço de Brindes, 1979), 24–28, 68–99. Hillebrand became a government informant in São Leopoldo up to the 1850s. AN, Série Justiça-IJ^{1}998, Foreign minister Paulino José Soares de Sousa to Justice minister Eusébio de Queirós (confidential) (12 June 1851).

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the hopes of "receiving the graces" of a reimbursement.[28] Later arrivals benefited from swift distribution protocols perfected due to the Cisplatina War as well as from the improvisations of new colonization officials hustling to give them a proper welcome in order to avoid them leaving for other destinations. When the Brazilian Navy in Montevideo captured the Dutch galley *Company Patie*, which was filled with Germans headed for Buenos Aires, it redirected the ship to Rio, where the Colonization Directorate quickly disembarked its passengers at Praia Grande. Some were then forwarded to Porto Alegre and others, not coincidentally, to southern Bahia, where they would settle next to their countrymen.[29]

Meanwhile, the Cisplatina forced Brazilian ministers to consider recruiting soldiers in the British isles in 1826–1827. Brant Pontes worked his way around the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, which forbade such conscription in the United Kingdom but not in Ireland, whose mercenaries had already appealed to other fledgling state-makers in Latin America in part because they were Catholic and in part because of their struggles for autonomy, which mirrored aspects of Latin American independence movements. "How hard is it for Brazil to follow that example?," the London-based *Correio Braziliense* had questioned years before. Now convinced, Brazilian authorities sent William Cotter, an Irishman with long military experience in the Portuguese and the Brazilian armies, to fulfill a new recruitment drive. But, rather than prior Latin American drives, it was Schäffer's recruitment playbook that served as the more immediate precedent.[30]

SHAPING COLONIZATION THROUGH LAW

The Irish recruitment accompanied the rise of the first Brazilian legislature, which took its seat in 1826 with the Cisplatina War and mercenary recruitments in full throttle. At around this time, special British envoy Robert Gordon had arrived in Brazil to wrest a slave trade deal from Pedro I and his Conselho. The novice Chamber of Deputies saw multiple bills to end the slave trade gradually in terms ranging from six to fourteen

[28] AMI, CIB-II-PAN-02.03.1826-Mal.c 1-2, Miranda Malheiro to Pedro I (2 Mar., 30 May 1826); *Diário Fluminense*, no. 55 (9 Mar. 1826).

[29] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}157, "Mappa dos colonos Allemães" (1826).

[30] "Medidas defensivas que convêm ao Brasil tomar" (1822), in *Hipólito José da Acosta*, ed. Sérgio G. de Paula (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2001), 491–493; Vale, *Independence or Death!*; Gilmar de Paiva dos Santos Pozo, "Imigrantes irlandeses no Rio de Janeiro. Cotidiano e revolta no primeiro reinado" (MA thesis, USP, 2010), 66–83.

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years, but Pedro I rebuffed these efforts and approved a treaty without parliamentary consent, which the novel deputies saw as an attempt against their legitimacy.[31] As a recalcitrant Chamber indicted Pedro I's actions and deepened debate about the slave trade, it solidified its own role as a deliberative branch. As it did so, the Chamber began to take steps to abolish executive monopoly over colonization.

Indeed, deputies bristled at the slave trade treaty as an affront to Brazilian sovereignty.[32] Yet, at the same time, they pivoted toward peopling dynamics and began considering other ways of exercising the Chamber's attributions over colonization. Deputies exerted authority over colonization in three interrelated areas: budgeting, legal codification, and ad hoc reviews of company proposals. Regarding the first of these, the legislative branch did possess attributions that delimitated the scope of executive actions. The 1824 Constitution, for instance, authorized the Chamber to check the sovereign's internal taxing and spending capabilities, which resulted in the relatively steady growth of the empire's funded debt and by extension of its creditworthiness throughout the nineteenth century.[33]

Pedro I and his cabinet fought back against deputies' efforts to limit the monarch's financial power by controlling the budget. They did so by devising more understated, even secretive, ways to fund the emperor's undertakings. The 1826 budget, for example, barely earmarked colonization funds except to pay arrears to Nova Friburgo employees and issue a small loan to the Swiss colony. But the emperor could circumvent budgetary reporting obligations by downplaying or omitting incidental and personnel expenses related to his recruitment drives. As Finance minister Nogueira da Gama, visconde de Baependi (José Bonifácio's secretary back in the 1800s), informed the Chamber in a much criticized report in 1826, funds destined to foreign colonization represented a mere quarter of the total expenses of the Foreign ministry.[34] However, that quantity excluded

[31] Gordon was Lord Aberdeen's younger brother. Bethell, *Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 49–61; Alan K. Manchester, "The Recognition of Brazilian Independence," *HAHR* 31, no. 1 (1951): 80–96.

[32] Tâmis Parron, *A política da escravidão no Império do Brasil, 1826–1865* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011), 64–72; Raimundo José da Cunha Mattos and Luíz Augusto May, *Sustentação dos votos . . . sobre a convenção para a final extincção do commercio de escravos* (Rio de Janeiro: Plancher-Seignot, 1827).

[33] Summerhill, *Inglorious Revolution*.

[34] *Parecer da Commissão de Fazenda da Câmara dos Deputados da Assembléa Geral Legislativa do Império do Brasil sobre o Relatório do ministro e secretário de estado dos negócios da Fazenda* (Rio de Janeiro: Imperial Typ., 1826); *Contas da receita e*

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budget items like Schäffer's stipends and possible reimbursements. If the Chamber could slash funds for colonization or mercenary recruitments, the executive found ways to mitigate the impact on its drives.

In the midst of this tense interplay, the emperor did offer an olive branch when, in 1825, minister Brant Pontes assembled a commission to draft "a general plan of Colonization that works uniformly for all the Provinces," citing the need to "increase the population of this Empire as its great territorial extension requires."[35] The initiative was nothing short of a hook for deputies to begin codifying colonization, if with a bill crafted by Crown-picked drafters, who nonetheless made up a political balance. Commission members included Pedro I's Colonization Inspector, Miranda Malheiro; former Santa Catarina president João Antonio Rodrigues de Carvalho; Finance Council officer Manuel José de Sousa França; and father Januário da Cunha Barbosa, one of the masons banished in 1823 who was later pardoned.[36]

Meanwhile, a flurry of colonization proposals, many of which propounded the utility of companies, reminded government officials of the necessity of a legal framework to handle heterogeneous colonization requests. In 1826, for instance, a memória published by a Coimbra-trained Bahian mathematician, José Eloy Pessoa, advocated for ending the slave trade and promoting colonization with European *and* African colonos.[37] Eloy Pessoa, who enjoyed some respect for his service as an artillery lieutenant colonel in Bahia's independence war, intriguingly referred to abolitionists Granville Sharp, Paul Cuffee, and John Clarkson, who were involved in the Sierra Leone Company and the St. George Company for the relocation of Black loyalists from Canada to Africa. These corporate abolitionists inspired Eloy Pessoa to propose a

despesa que há feito a Legação do Brasil em Londres por conta do Governo Imperial desde 1824 até 30 de junho de 1826 (London: Greenlaw, 1826), 10–11.

[35] AN, GIFI-4J-073, Finance ministry decree (2 Dec. 1825).

[36] "Quadro histórico da maçonaria no Rio de Janeiro," [1832] *Boletim do Grande Oriente do Brasil* 23, no. 6–7 (Aug.–Sept. 1898): 434–436; no. 8–9 (Oct.–Nov. 1898): 519–524; no. 10 (Dec. 1899): 581–587.

[37] José Eloy Pessoa da Silva, *Memória sobre a escravatura e projecto de colonisação dos europeos e pretos da África no Império do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imperial Typ. de Plancher, 1826). Eloy Pessoa secured Sergipe as interim military governor at the time of independence, and later served as provincial president (1837–1838). He was assassinated in 1841. *Diário Fluminense* no. 88–89 (14–15 Oct. 1825); Felisbello Freire, *História de Sergipe (1575–1855)* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Perseverança, 1891), 274–275; José Teixeira de Melo, *Ephemérides nacionaes*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. da Gazeta de Notícias, 1881), 129–130; Kaori Kodama, *Os índios no Império do Brasil: a etnografia do IHGB entre as décadas de 1840 e 1860* (Rio de Janeiro: Fiocruz/Edusp, 2009), 198–211.

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"Company of Capitalists" to import colonos from Africa by purchasing prisoners from African princes. The memória also suggested coordinating with the English Committee on Emigration to transport emigrants from Manchester but ultimately favored African colonization – prefiguring the pro-slavery stance of deputies like Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos.[38]

Eloy Pessoa was far from the only or even the first proponent to envision a profit-driven company as an ideal conduit for colonization. In 1824, Joaquim José de Sequeira, a naturalized Brazilian citizen and prominent Rio-based merchant who lost his monopoly on beef supply to the Court, proposed a colonizing Agronomic Association in Maranhão.[39] Deputies considered this one case in 1826 because Sequeira had requested simply to serve as agent so that he could carry out his plan "without any cost to the Empire" – a petition amounting to a public employment request that, as such, fell "under the Legislative Power according to the Constitution," in the opinion of the Tribunal da Junta do Comércio. In itself, however, an employment inquiry did not merit getting forwarded to the Chamber. But the "Company for Agriculture and Peopling" proposed by Sequeira reminded one of the tribunal's members, José Antônio Lisboa, of Pombal's charter companies of 1755 and 1759, which qualified it for further deliberations.[40]

Deputies clashed over their differing assessments of the historic function of commercial companies. As some cited the failure of old chartered companies like the Dutch East India Company, Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos protested ad hoc concessions but averred that companies remained "great instruments of which a good government availed itself."[41] However, as "powerful corporations within the state," companies could also "bring the state to its ruin" if handled incautiously. According to Vasconcelos, Maranhão and Pará would only prosper when the old colonial company set up under Pombal finally dissolved (which only occurred with the sale of its final assets in 1840).[42] Other deputies

[38] *ACD* (1826), vol. 3, 165.

[39] Sequeira arrived in Brazil from Portugal before 1808, inheriting his father's business to become a leading beef merchant in Rio by 1810. Pedro Campos, "Nos caminhos da acumulação: negócios e poder no abastecimento de carnes verdes para a cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1835," (MA thesis, UFF, 2007), 86–88, 117–122; *Almanak do Rio de Janeiro para o ano 1827* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Imperial e Nacional, 1827), 37, 100.

[40] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}156, Junta do Comércio consultation on Joaquim José de Siqueira (1824–1826).

[41] 19 July, *DCD* , no. 41 (1826), 228–233.

[42] 15 July, *ACD* (1826), 195; Carreira, *As companhias pombalinas*.

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focused on the usefulness of private enterprise to helm "peopling and agriculture" in lockstep with "indigenous civilization."[43] Romualdo Antônio de Seixas, future conde de Santa Cruz, underlined companies' ability to operate "at no cost to the Public Treasury" and to employ foreigners to open communication routes as they had done in North America, England, Portugal, and across South America. Seixas then advanced a proposal to authorize tax-exempt companies to navigate Brazilian rivers.[44]

The subsequent trajectory of Sequeira's project and Seixa's proposal laid bare the long process involved in streamlining corporate colonization concessions. Both were sent to the Chamber's commerce commission, which eventually merged both proposals. As presented, Sequeira's "Agronomic Company" would rise out of a start-up fund of 600:000$000 divided into 1,200 shares. The company would care for transporting, sheltering, and sustaining Catholic craftsmen (*colonos artífices*) along several rivers in Maranhão, where these would work 10-hour days, 4 days a week, and spend their leisure time in subsistence farming in free plots. Gradually, colonos would contribute to population growth around new river-linked *feitorias* (in this case, trading posts). As the commission weighed these minutiae, Lisboa and the others at the Tribunal da Junta do Comércio directly consulted Maranhão's president, who appointed a seven-person commission that added new conditions, including company efforts to settle wild Indians, freedom of religion for colonos, corporate obedience of the empire's laws, a 10-year exemption from the dízimo, full military support from the government, and the extension of equal benefits to other proposed enterprises in the region. Two weeks later, deputies continued to discuss the complex details of Sequeira's plan, particularly its peopling component.[45]

These debates delayed any decision on Sequeira's proposal, confirming the need for a colonization law to outline concessionary processes. Deputies questioned the very nature of companies as they also pitted them against more pressing Brazilian realities. "What will happen," asked Raimundo da Cunha Mattos, "if we establish this Company, whose ends appear so complicated and whose interest is turned mostly to the advantage of its associates?" For Cunha Mattos, indigenous civilization came

[43] 1 July, *ACD* (1826); 12, 15, 19 July session, *DCD*, no. 41; 50 (1826): 189ss, 236–237; 799–804.
[44] 12, 27 June, *DCD*, no. 27, 38 (1826): 357–358, 594–595.
[45] 26, 27 June, 15, 18 July, *DCD*, no. 37, 38, 53, 55 (1826): 594–595, 854–862, 892–896.

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before the "interesse próprio" (self-interest) embodied by these companies. Vasconcelos also harped on the Indian question, considering that regions like his home province, Minas Gerais, were occupied by gentios. How was it, he wondered, that the members of this company would avoid war with the Indians? A contemporary proposal for a colony of 750 Swiss settlers in Pernambuco called Cova da Onça and later rechristened as Santa Amélia may have offered a response with its pledge to go after "all fugitive Blacks and Vagabonds," including "all who took refuge in the woods."[46] Although Sequeira did not adopt such a violent justification, his project fell short of concrete measures to integrate or manage indigenous peoples living in the area where his company would operate.

Deputies also raised financial concerns. Cunha Mattos himself wondered how a company could amass its initial capital if the domestic debt had yet to be formally structured, while others insisted that companies pay for themselves "without cost to the Treasury."[47] In this regard, mining companies had instructive value. The five British gold firms established in the first few years after independence were bankrolled by foreign capital and obtained special concessions that benefited their agents – as was the case of Edward Oxenford of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association (est. 1824), George Such of the St. John del Rey Mining Company (1828), and even George Vincent Duval of the General Mining Association (1825), who later attempted an emigration scheme from England.[48] Like these agents, Sequeira doggedly searched for personal gain. By 1827, he managed to become "viador" (a messenger or valet) for the emperor at São Cristovão and also currency authenticator for the royal mint. Later, he sought funding in England, hoping for support among São Luís's British cotton merchants and their creditors in Liverpool. By no fault of his own, Sequeira saw his ambitions dashed by the long wait for a colonization code.[49]

[46] IHGB-(0), Lata 213-doc. 4, "Plan d'organisation au [illegible] d'une colonie Suisse composée de 150 familles au nombre de 750 âmes, pour poupler et etoigner les Negres fugitifs et refugies dans les bois environnant la belle position de Pernambuco" (1828); Peter Eisenberg, "Falta de imigrantes: um aspecto do atrasso nordestino," *Revista de História* 46, no. 94 (1973): 583–601.

[47] 15, 18 July *DCD*, no. 53, 55 (1826): 855, 895–897.

[48] Douglas Libby, *Trabalho escravo e capital estrangeiro no Brasil: O caso de Morro Velho* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1984), 60, 92; Marshall Eakin, *British Enterprise in Brazil*; Silva, *Barões*, 34–39.

[49] In 1834, Sequeira obtained river navigation privileges in Pará and Maranhão and launched a "mining, colonization and steam navigation project," selling 350 shares with the support of general Francisco José de Sousa Soares de Andréa. The Cabanagem

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In February 1827, Barbacena's commission finally issued its report, which broke new ground as the first land bill project in post-independence Brazil while evincing a deep resemblance to H. G. Schmidt's and Domingos Borges's plans at the Lisbon Courts. The majority in the commission–with the exception of Miranda Malheiro, who submitted a separate plan–sent a "General plan for uniform colonization in all provinces of the Empire" to minister José Fernandes Pinheiro, now known as visconde de São Leopoldo thanks to his loyal service to Pedro I. This plan called for an expansive but efficient system of colonization. It tasked provincial legislatures with distributing measured land plots and provincial presidents with appointing three-member colonization commissions, each with a treasurer, all of which would fall under the purview of a central directory in Rio appointed by the emperor, while in Europe new agents would recruit colonos. A version of the plan arrived at the Senate under the title of "Statute for the Central Directorate and Colonial Commissions to supplement the Law of Colonization and Foreigners," undersigned by three notables who alluded to old peopling tropes when they stated their objective as fixing "the waning of people." The Senate then redirected the bill to the Commission on Indigenous Catechism, Statistics and Colonization for closer consideration, where the project languished until the end of the legislative session.[50]

The bill was never taken up again. Shortly after the Senate reconvened in 1828, the Irish regiments at the Court rose in arms protesting pay backlogs and corporal punishment by high officers.[51] With a regiment setting out from the Campo da Aclamação in the Court's outskirts and another from Praia Vermelha, at the tip of the western entrance to Guanabara Bay, the foreign troops caused mayhem across the city during four consecutive days.[52] The press had already raised concerns before the riot. In early 1828, for example, the *Aurora Fluminense* suggested that the Government "stimulate Capitalists to form associations to carry out

rebellion brought the enterprise to a halt by 1839. Joaquim José de Siqueira [Sequeira], *Aviso* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de T. B. Hunt & C., 1834); *Relatório do presidente da província PA* (1840), 78–79; Vitor Gregório, "O progresso a vapor: Navegação e desenvolvimento na Amazônia do século XIX," *Nova Economia* 19, no. 1 (2009): 185–212.

[50] BN, Manuscritos-I-32,09,019; *AS* (1827), vol. 2, 32–35; (1828), vol. 2, 12.

[51] The Senate reconvened on 27 April 1828; revolts occurred June 9–12. João Manuel Pereira da Silva, *Segundo período do Reinado de dom Pedro I. Narrativa histórica* (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, 1871), 286–291; 352–353.

[52] Pozo, "Imigrantes irlandeses," 132–173; William Wisser, "Rhetoric and Riot in Rio de Janeiro, 1827–1831," (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2006).

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[colonization] speculation" rather than bring in "northern Mamluks" to threaten Brazilians' liberties. A month after the revolts, an anonymous correspondent in *O Farol Paulistano* recalled that "Rio de Janeiro saw colonos crowned as soldiers, but as the people kept silent, everyone kept talking about colonos," who ultimately revealed themselves as "demagogues, republicans, sans-culottes, men with nothing to lose who wish to destroy rather than to build."[53] The 1828 revolts galvanized public opinion against mercenaries and made manifest the shortcomings of executive-run colonization while efforts to enact colonization laws fizzled.

LAYING DOWN THE ARMS? COUNTERING THE THREAT OF RESTORATION

Pedro I's grand plans for a foreign mercenary army to strengthen his stead began to unravel in the court of public opinion as well as in the Chamber of Deputies. With declining levels of support, the emperor started offloading colonization-related needs to lawmakers in a measured retreat meant to dodge the accumulating evidence of his schemes' consequences. But also, after 1828, the emperor found himself pulled into the Portuguese dynastic saga unfolding since his father's death in 1826. When xenophobic pressures and colono-related scandals piled on political discontent, Pedro I gave up his crown and set off to war against his brother Miguel's claim to João VI's succession. Back in Brazil, however, statesmen feared Pedro's return, precisely because he continued to engage in recruitment practices to marshal a new army against his brother, which he could then in principle redirect toward his erstwhile empire.

Indeed, by 1828, public opinion turned increasingly against the emperor due to the loss of the Cisplatina, while the riots in Rio compounded negative views of his colonos. Pedro I and his advisors tried to contain the damage by recourse to peopling, more specifically by promoting homesteading as exemplified in the São Leopoldo colony and redirecting colonos initially hired as mercenaries toward other occupations. Even before the riots, the emperor had sent some of the Irish mercenaries to settle in Ilhéus in Bahia and German soldiers to Rio Grande do Sul.[54] Later in the year, Pedro I stepped up these efforts with a law on public works that required specialized labor and crafts of the kind many colonos

[53] *Aurora Fluminense*, no. 10 (21 Jan. 1828); *O Farol Paulistano*, no. 129 (12 July 1828).
[54] Fernando Basto, *Ex-combatentes irlandeses em Taperoá* (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1971), 28–42.

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could furnish.[55] In his last *falas do trono* (the opening speeches he delivered to inaugurate each elected legislature) in 1829 and 1830, Pedro I also called for measures on land distribution, naturalization, and work contracting in order to incentivize immigration.[56] Lawmakers abided with the first Brazilian contract work law (*lei de prestação de serviços*), which regulated contracts signed within Brazil and abroad. Nevertheless, deputies refrained from giving the emperor free rein on colonization matters by explicitly abolishing all funds for foreign colonization in the budget law they approved at the end of 1830, a sign of their unstinting resolve to take over colonization matters.[57]

From 1828 to 1830, an uneasy Chamber of Deputies withheld support for Pedro I's particular brand of colonization rather than for colonization as a commercial pursuit more broadly. Similar attitudes prevailed in the press. The *Aurora Fluminense*, for instance, criticized that colonos had come "at great cost" and armed with bayonets rather than sickle and hoes. But, the *Diário Fluminense* suggested, Brazil should heed what the English political economist William Godwin observed in New York and Philadelphia, where "Companies have been spontaneously established to attract European emigration," and "ship captains of different Nations . . . have turned this into an object of speculation." The key was to focus on administrative and procedural issues that could unlock the gates of industriousness by luring emigrants from Europe with a flexible naturalization law. In all, many of the moderate liberal Brazilian journals understood the need for a "judicious and national administration" but one that would in the main support enterprises such as the "colonization association with which the patriot Serqueira [*sic*] pretends to gift Maranhão."[58]

In themselves, these positive assessments did not suffice to restore public, much less lawmakers', confidence in colonization under Pedro I. From the start, breaches of social norms and contractual expectations compromised colonization's image and public trust in the government's capacity to remedy these issues. In 1824, for instance, a shop owner in Rio hired an 11-year-old German boy as his *caixeiro* (assistant), a common practice at the time. Then, three soldiers from the foreign battalion came to his house at night and spirited the boy away.

[55] Law (29 Aug.), *CLIB* (1828), vol. 1, 24–27.
[56] Câmara, *Fallas do Throno*, 164–165, 175.
[57] Law (13 Sept.), Law (15 Dec.), *CLIB* (1830), vol. 1, 32–33, 108.
[58] Ferdinand Schröder, *A imigração alemã para o sul do Brasil até 1859* (Porto Alegre: Unisinos, 2003 [1931]), 70–71; *Aurora Fluminense* nos. 296, 345, 371 (3 Feb., 4 June, 9 Aug. 1830); *Diário Fluminense*, no. 34 (13 Feb. 1830).

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As authorities looked into it, they discovered the boy's contract was "so arbitrary" as to be illegal, for which the emperor ordered the colonization inspector to assume custody of the boy. Nevertheless, a month after the incident, the child remained at large.[59]

At the same time, colono misbehavior unrelated to the riots had taken hold in the public imagination and fed a growing xenophobia. By 1830, one paper in Rio alleged that "assaults continue every night" by "gangs of foreign tramps, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, French, Germans," and that a robber recently killed while breaking into a house was a former captain of Pedro I's foreign troops.[60] It did not help that many of the colonos established in São Leopoldo after 1828 were Mecklemburg convicts hired to serve as soldiers in the Cisplatina War.[61]

These incidents indicted Schäffer's recruitment practices, which came under attack by German colonos who had served or considered serving in Brazil's foreign battalions. In a 1829 chronicle of his time in Brazil, Carl Schlichthorst, who was almost recruited by Schäffer in 1825, decried the level of royal protection enjoyed by this "trafficker of human flesh," claiming that Leopoldina had once excused Schäffer's frauds by asking, "What would you have Schäffer do? Sometimes he must lie to recruit people for us." Still, in 1835, Carl Siedler, a voluntary recruit, condemned Schäffer for selling "the blood of his countrymen in exchange of a mound of gold and a cane field."[62]

No sooner had the monarch's mercenaries put down their arms and retreated to their new homesteads in an effort to buck critiques, the outbreak of the Portuguese Civil War raised the specter of a new recruitment drive – one that potentially compromised Brazilian sovereignty. As Pedro I appeared to solve the Portuguese succession crisis in favor of his daughter Maria da Glória, his brother, Miguel, who was supposed to marry Maria and who arrived in Lisbon from his exile earlier than her, claimed the crown for himself. The usurpation sparked a war between

[59] *Diário do Governo* nos. 82, 96, 113 (12, 30 Apr., 20 May 1824).

[60] *Aurora Fluminense*, no. 366 (26 July 1830); Rosana Barbosa, *Immigration and Xenophobia: Portuguese Immigrants in Early nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2009), 74–80.

[61] Caroline von Mühlen, *Degredados e imigrantes: Trajetórias de ex-prisioneiros de Mecklenburg-Schwerin no Brasil meridional (século XIX)* (Santa Maria: EDUFSM, 2013).

[62] Carl Seidler, *Dez anos no Brasil* [1835] (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1951), 22; Carl Schlichthorst, *O Rio de Janeiro como é (1824–1826): Uma vez e nunca mais* [1829], trans. Emmy Barroso (Brasília: Senado Federal, 2000), 276.

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conservative *miguelistas* and constitutionalists defending the charter that Pedro I had provided to Portugal in 1826, which was based on a revised copy of the Brazilian constitution and was meant to resolve the succession crisis. Immediately after the Cisplatina War, the Civil War absorbed the emperor's attention as detailed reports trickled in from the constitutionalist bastion in the Azores.[63]

Running an empire and managing the politics of his old motherland was a tall order for Pedro I, and his attempts to do both weakened executive colonization in 1828 and unsettled Brazilian statesmen. When London papers broke news of Pedro I organizing an army of *emigrados* from the Civil War, Brazilian statesmen grew alarmed as they suspected that the emperor's involvement in Bragança family intrigues threatened a possible reunification of Brazil and Portugal. The term *re*colonziation popped up in exaltado journals such as *O República*, which leveled acerbic attacks against a "recolonizing party" close to Pedro.[64] Rumor had it that armed foreigners would subdue Brazilians if Pedro decided to claim the Portuguese Crown, which seemed increasingly likely given the emperor's support for Portuguese aristocrats and administrators fleeing Portugal. These emigrados urgently needed financial help and safe haven, especially when those in England were threatened with extradition to Portugal if Britain recognized Miguel as king.[65]

It was true that, even as Pedro I's popularity plummeted, a number of Brazilian politicians abetted a military build-up to help Maria da Glória reclaim the Portuguese throne. And it did not quell alarms when they sought to downplay their activities. For instance, in 1830, Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, a young Coimbra graduate from Bahia and Constitutional Assembly veteran who was then Finance minister, tried to mollify his peers about Pedro I's support for the emigrados. The emperor, he told deputies, had helped the Portuguese exiles for purely philanthropic reasons, further providing Maria da Glória with

[63] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 196–256; AMI, CIB-II-PAN-22.06.1828-Cos.cer; CIB-II-PAN-20.09.1828-Fer.c 1–7.

[64] Márcia Berbel, "A retórica da recolonização," in *Independência: História e historiografia*, ed. István Jancsó (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2005), 791–808; *O República* nos. 20, 23, 38, 43 (8, 18 Dec. 1830, 12 Feb., 2 Mar. 1831). The paper denounced absolutist *recolonizadores* as well as Pedro I's colonos, who would putatively "enslave and assassinate" Brazilians.

[65] At least 8,247 anti-miguelistas were listed in Pedro da Fonseca Velozo, *Collecção de listas que contêm os nomes das pessoas, que ficarão pronunciadas nas devassas, e summários* (Porto: Ribeiro, 1833).

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Portuguese soldiers to accompany her in her transatlantic voyage simply because she required such protection as a Brazilian subject. Pedro I, he claimed, had acted no differently than Great Britain, France, and other nations aiding her cause.[66] In parallel, however, Calmon was also making secret plans to promote monarchies throughout Brazil's Spanish American neighbors. Taking advantage of European support for a new independent monarchy in Greece, Calmon authorized the marquês de Santo Amaro, special envoy to Europe, to speak to France, England, and Russia about Brazil's willingness to help pacify the Spanish American republics and replace them with monarchical regimes.[67] By defending Pedro I's support for emigrados and advocating for European intervention in the Americas, the emperor and his supporters readied themselves for throwing their full weight behind Maria da Glória's claim to the crown.

However, these plans disintegrated as Pedro's blunders caught up with him at the end of 1830 and rapidly narrowed his options. To begin with, the emperor had a very public falling out with one of his leading supporters, Brant Pontes, by then ennobled as marquês de Barbacena. As the official guardian of Maria da Glória on her voyage to claim the Portuguese crown from the "usurper," Barbacena returned in 1829 also with a new wife for Pedro I and an appointment to the Finance portfolio. Yet, having been tasked with overseeing emigrados' affairs in London, Barbacena was accused of mishandling and even appropriating emigrado funds.[68] Barbacena defended himself, but the public accusations opened an unsalvageable rift between him and Pedro I. In October 1830, the emperor asked Barbacena for his resignation without foreseeing that other Brazilian statesmen would understand the dismissal as inimical to the national cause and favorable to the Portuguese.[69]

[66] *O Universal*, no. 460 (30 June 1830).

[67] IHGB-(sn), Lata 383-pasta 1, "Instruções secretas enviadas pelo marquês de Abrantes ao marquês de Santo Amaro" (21 Apr. 1830); *ACD* (1838), vol. 2, 65–66.

[68] Anonymous, *Noções particulares para a história da emigração portugueza; ou política, administração, e diplomâcia, dos principaes agentes dos negócios de Portugal a favor do Imperador do Brazil* (London: Bagster & Thomas, 1830); Anonymous, *Dos poderes conferidos a hum brazileiro qual o Marquez de Barbacena, para tratar com o Governo da Gran Bretanha sobre os negócios de Portugal; e da conducta deste agente em Londres* (London: Bagster & Thomas, 1830).

[69] Barbacena to Pedro I (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imperial e Nacional, 1830); Hum Brazileiro Nato, *Expozição do Marquez de Barbacena commentada* (Antwerp: Santerre Frères, 1831).

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Other scandals piled on, one of which bore direct connection to Pedro I's colonization schemes. In November, the assassination of Giovanni Battista Libero Badaró, the Liberal Italian editor of the *Observador Constitucional*, by German colonos allegedly sent by Pedro I further narrowed the emperor's political future.[70] On 13 March 1831, as the Portuguese party prepared to celebrate Pedro I, a bloody revolt targeting Portuguese people broke out at the Court that later became famously known as the "noite das garrafadas," the night of bottle-breakings.[71] Abandoned by his ministers some weeks later, on 7 April 1831, Pedro I abdicated the Brazilian throne, leaving a Regency in place as stipulated by the constitution, and sailing for the Azores to take part in the Portuguese war.

Meanwhile, exaltados and moderados celebrating the abdication as a "real independence" quickly awoke to the threat of a Portuguese recolonization, as Pedro, now officially known as the duke of Bragança, found himself at the head of an army that could eventually retake Brazil. Indeed, rumors at the Court about the existence of a *partido restaurador* planning Pedro's welcome gave credence to a possible invasion. Then, in June 1833, a series of documents sent by Brazilian diplomats in Europe appeared to confirm takeover plans by the duke. In the Chamber, an appointed commission studied the documents but chose to speedily produce a report rather than directly share the original documents.[72] The commission report described the alleged proofs of an impending re-invasion, beginning with a European news article arguing that an invasion would prove easy and that the legislature would quickly comply with the emperor's return. The proofs also included a recruitment contract for Portuguese and other foreign soldiers, and a colono contract stating a preference for military personnel. And there was yet more evidence: an article from a gazette speculating over the destination of presently active troops in the duke of Bragança's constitutional army, anecdotal accounts of promises of land in Brazil made to recruits in Porto, as well as an opinion piece on how the diaspora of Polish mercenaries expelled by the anti-Russian Polish uprising of 1831 disliked Portugal and would not remain there after service. The written opinion of

[70] *O Repúblico*, no. 20 (8 Dec. 1830); John Armitage, *The History of Brazil* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1836), 93–96; Argemiro Silveira, "Alguns apontamentos biográficos de Libero Badaró," *RIHGB* 53 (1890): 309–384.

[71] Gladys S. Ribeiro, *A liberdade em construção: identidade nacional e conflitos antilusitanos no primeiro reinado* (Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará, 2002), 13–26, and "As noites das garrafadas: uma história entre outras de conflitos antilusitanos e raciais na Corte do Rio de Janeiro em 1831," *LBR* 37, no. 2 (2000): 59–74.

[72] *AS* (1833), vol. 1, 289–290; *Aurora Fluminense*, no. 787 (1 July 1833).

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the Brazilian consul himself, who confirmed suspicions about a possible coup, closed this litany of proofs.

Despite the growing evidence, the majority of the six-person commission, including Miguel Calmon and rising conservative Pedro de Araújo Lima, light-heartedly dismissed concerns over these documents and judged an invasion improbable. Only the sixth member of the commission demurred, underlining the suspicious clauses in the duke of Bragança's contracts with the French, German, and Polish mercenaries Pedro was in fact recruiting. According to the agreement he signed with an old Polish officer in May 1833, his drive sought up to 3,200 men.[73] As the commission's dissenter saw it, foreign troops were hired for a three-year service "within or beyond Portugal" – and Brazil was the only tenable destination for Pedro's forces after Portugal. Moreover, the documents proved that an association set up in England under Pedro's name had hired colonos for Brazil – including decommissioned army and navy personnel.

The alleged restorationist plot continued to creep into legislative debates. Barbacena spoke of Bonaparte, Murat, and Iturbide to illustrate that abdication did not preclude fateful returns, especially when no legal measure prohibited Pedro from claiming a regency over his son. By the end of June, as the Senate weighed an amnesty for conservatives who rose up in the Revolta da Fumaça in Ouro Preto, lawmakers debated the possibility of an invasion. Blaming the previous ministries for the emergence of a restorationist party, a deputy from Minas proffered that a "restoration cannot be accomplished without an invasion of Brasil." The following day, senator José Ignácio Borges insisted on the existence of a restorationist party and mentioned that the alleged colonization society in London sought "colonos in the military class," in other words, mercenaries. Powerful conservative figures kept offering reassurances, claiming that to speak of a possible invasion was not only premature, but an outright provocation.[74]

* * *

The duke of Bragança won the war, but his rapid deterioration and subsequent death from tuberculosis in 1834 dashed the possibility of a return to his old homestead, Brazil. Nonetheless, the very possibility that

[73] Henrique Lima, *Legião polaca ou legião da Rainha Dona Maria Segunda (1832–1833)* (Lisboa: Tipografia Minerva, 1936), 49–52, 90–92.

[74] *AS* (1833), vol. 2, 28–30, 46, 56–61.

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he could have staged a comeback remained significant. Any such plan would have been the product of recruitment and settlement ploys perfected through Brazilian independence, the Cisplatina War, and the cause of Portuguese constitutionalists. Colonization, in other words, had nestled itself deep in Brazil's constitutive processes as an independent empire but could also be turned on its head and imperil Brazilian independence, forged as it was by executive caveat.

Pedro I had inherited from his father a multipurpose form of colonization hinging on royal patronage and, in line with it, he continued to sponsor the colonies started under João VI, especially Nova Friburgo and Leopoldina. But if, by the end of his Brazilian stay, João VI had begun to see colonization as a kind of hobby horse that required little more than his royal graces, for Pedro colonization quickly became a martial expedient to secure Brazilian sovereignty and then also strengthen royal authority vis à vis a rising legislature. Indeed, colonization became the fulcrum of the conflicting aspirations of a fledgling parliament and the imperial executive. As the emperor and his ministers freely and rampantly recruited and later settled mercenaries, lawmakers struggled with such unchecked use of executive power and similar initiatives proposed by private individuals such as Sequeira. As this process unfolded, ideas about proper colonization came into greater relief, with commercially oriented schemes acquiring the sheen of legitimacy lost by the emperor's colonization drives.

In the long process of Brazilian independence and government-making, colonization therefore became the site of an escalating constitutional conflict. Yet, despite partisan bickering and differing opinions about Pedro's mercenary drives, colonization began to command a growing interest among Brazilian politicians and businessmen. In the years ahead, many of these – including those who dismissed concerns about the duke of Bragança's return – in fact became colonization boosters. During the Regency that followed Pedro I's abdication, Calmon and Araújo Lima in particular cemented their political fortunes as presidents of the first homegrown colonization companies and later enjoyed prodigal political ascents. Colonization thus afforded erstwhile monarchists the chance to restore their political standing after their potentially damaging public support for the duke of Bragança's stratagems. Because colonization projects increasingly portrayed the pursuit of a "public good," statesmen who patronized them would go on to earn social and political respect. As they did, they also came to understand how colonization could continue to channel the objectives of a government in the process of formation.

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PART II

COLONIZATION COMPANIES AND THE COLONO TRADE

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3

Shareholder Oligarchies

The First Homegrown Companies

The Regency that followed Pedro I's abdication in favor of his son in 1831 stoked unprecedented political violence. Restorationist forces calling for Pedro's return rose in arms in Ceará, Maranhão, and at the Court. Bahia and Pernambuco in turn witnessed Lusophobe exaltado revolts. The enslaved also rebelled in Carrancas, Minas Gerais (1833), while *malês* (enslaved West African Muslims) tried to take over Salvador (1835). Revolts grew lengthier and bloodier as they spread. The Cabanada in Pernambuco (1832–1835), the Revolução Farroupilha in the southern provinces (1835–1845), the Cabanagem in Pará (1835–1840), the Sabinada in Bahia (1837–1838), and the Balaiada in Maranhão (1838–1841) made it hard to imagine that the Brazilian Empire would survive until the slated accession of Pedro II on his eighteenth birthday in 1843. And yet, starting in 1831 too, the Chamber of Deputies approved the slave trade law promised to Britain, a National Guard came into existence, and Brazil's first Criminal Process Code overrode Pedro I's earlier press gag law, bringing forth a barrage of newspapers. Without a doubt, the Regency turned into a tense but productive political "laboratory."[1]

In this climate of promise and peril, associations united what factions wrenched apart. Brazilian intellectuals and statesmen founded new

[1] Marcello Basile, "O laboratório da nação: A era regencial (1831–1840)," in *O Brasil Imperial*, vol. II, ed. Keila Grinberg and Ricardo Salles (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2009), 53–119. For a useful overview of other reforms and policy innovations during the Regecy, see Marco Morel, *O período das Regências (1831–1840)* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2003).

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scientific societies, charities, presses, clubs – and companies. Banks, insurance firms, and subscription-based beautification works proliferated, transcending old restrictions and aligning Brazil with business trends across the Atlantic. The first Brazilian colonization companies epitomized this associational efflorescence, all the more so as intellectuals of different generations reprised conversations about how to best people Brazil.[2] Companies held the answer, especially after an ambitious London-based enterprise targeting the Rio Doce compelled Brazilians to launch their own joint-stock companies in the likeness of those operating in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Two companies in Bahia and Rio took the lead in 1835, riding on the political openings brought about by the constitutional reform known as the Additional Act.

These novel colonization companies expanded shareholding to new sectors and pioneered experiments in corporate voting rights to accommodate them. However, they did not come to embody the "shareholder democracies" that scholars have identified in parallel company booms in the United Kingdom, United States, and France that mirrored broader processes of relative political democratization.[3] In Brazil, rather, new company undertakings galvanized the privileges of the few. Even when these joint-stocks placed middling classes next to planters and statesmen, they hardened the hierarchies inherent to Brazilian society and reinforced marks of distinction and patrimonial patterns of wealth formation. In appearance, they harbored inclusivity, but their internal organization and their very missions consecrated them as shareholder oligarchies.

As touchstones of elite entrepreneurialism, the first homegrown colonization companies also churned emigration into a niche market by taking advantage of what I refer to as the colono trade from the Portuguese

[2] Henrique Jorge Rebello, "Memória e considerações sobre a população do Brasil," *RIHGB*, 30, no. 1 (1867 [1836]): 5–42; Raimundo José da Cunha Mattos, "Memória histórica sobre a população, emigração e colonisação, que convem ao Império do Brasil," *AIN*, 5, no. 11 (1837): 344–364.

[3] Eric Hilt and Katherine O'Banion, "The Limited Partnership in New York, 1822–1858: Partnerships Without Kinship," *The Journal of Economic History* 69, no. 3 (2009): 615–645; Henry Hansmann and Mariana Pargendler, "A New View of Shareholder Voting in the Nineteenth Century: Evidence from Brazil, England and France," *Business History* 55, no. 4 (2013): 582–597; Charles Freedman, *Joint-Stock Enterprise in France, 1807–1867: From Privileged Company to Modern Corporation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Mark Freeman, Robert Pearson, and James Taylor, *Shareholder Democracies? Corporate Governance in Britain and Ireland before 1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

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archipelago of the Azores.[4] The new Brazilian colonization companies cashed in on Azoreans fleeing conscription and conditions of scarcity after the Portuguese Civil War. In doing so, these companies established lasting mechanisms of recruitment, transport, and reception that indelibly shaped the colono trade and hooked Azorean communities to migration for decades. In parallel, they awoke Brazilian empresarios to an accessible and putatively culturally familiar labor pool. As these novel enterprises commodified Azoreans and other foreign colonos by indebting their livelihoods and using them as dividend generators, they publicized migrant workers as cost-effective alternatives to enslaved laborers.

In reality, however, the distinction between colonos and slaves proved less clear. To begin with, in contrast to enslaved Africans, Azorean and German colonos arrived with pre-accorded contracts akin to indentures. Still, many colonos would end up working side by side with the enslaved or in roadworks employing liberated Africans. Even more significantly, the colono trade often overlapped with and served as cover for slave trafficking. Ship captains and their factors took advantage of bourgeoning directed migrations to periodically intersperse colono transport with slave shipments, confounding authorities on their maritime routes and justifying their suspicious preparations at port on the climbing number of passengers they would carry on their alleged return voyages from the Azores.

Scholars have seldom examined these colonization companies and tend to subsume them within an overarching, inexorable "transition" to free labor when not simply casting them into the dustbin of failed experiments.[5] Some have looked more closely at similar migration dynamics but

[4] I define the colono trade in dialogue with the "emigrant trade" from Ireland and the United Kingdom to Canada, Australia, and later the United States, which was also for-profit and led by private enterprises, but did not intersect with the slave trade as the Luso-Brazilian colono trade did. Helen Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 113–171; Frank Broeze, "Private Enterprise and the Peopling of Australasia, 1831–50," *The Economic History Review*, 35, no. 2 (1982): 235–253; Raymond Cohn, *Mass Migration under Sail: European Immigration to the Antebellum United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[5] George Browne, "Política imigratória no Brasil Regência," *RIHGB* 307 (1975): 37–48; Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, "Proletários e escravos: Imigrantes portugueses e cativos africanos no Rio de Janeiro, 1850–1872," *Novos Estudos Cebrap* 21 (1988 [1984]): 30–56; Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 94–171; Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820–1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); Giralda Seyferth, "The Slave Plantation and Foreign Colonization in Imperial Brazil," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 34, no. 4 (2011): 339–387.

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only later in the century, without accounting for these little known companies' early formation and evolution due to their relative obscurity.[6] Based on the most extensive archival evidence to date, this chapter surveys the internal constitution, operations, and broader context of the earliest of these companies in Brazil. It demonstrates that private colonization activities flourished during the Regency despite the suspension of government funds for colonization and that they set in motion a corporate colonization ethos whose significance was far greater than historians give them credit for.[7] These companies buoyed their principals' fates. Incorporated or not, they allowed members to explore markets, burnish public credentials, and advance their careers, a facet of their success that calls into question normative expectations regarding the value and uses of the corporate form in Brazil. Most importantly, however, these companies supercharged the colono trade in advance of any serious effort to transition away from slave labor. As a result, they not only contributed to the fastest growing population segment at the Court, they spurred new regulations meant to promote – and control – migrant inflows. In the end, these companies balanced the old trope of peopling with a new profit motive. Crowning colonization as a respectable pursuit, they set an example for numerous similar companies for decades to come.

JOHANN JAKOB STURZ: THE SPIRIT OF ASSOCIATION AND A NEW MODEL FOR PEOPLING BRAZIL

In the early 1830s, Brazilian politicians continued to adhere to antiquated peopling ideas. Their goals were dwarfed by far bolder rationales of managed population movements elsewhere. British experiments in the Cape, the Canadas, and Australia marched on, for example. Liberated Africans were resettled to Sierra Leone and other nearby settlements. French Saint-Simonians concocted a supposedly tolerant colonization regime for Algeria. And Russian tsar Nicholas I's issued his edict of

[6] Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 34–39; Eunice Nodari, "Persuadir para migrar: A atuação das companhias colonizadoras," *Esboços* 10, no. 10 (2002): 29–52; Paulo Cesar Gonçalves, "Mercadores de braços: riqueza e acumulação na organização da emigração européia para o Novo Mundo" (PhD diss., USP, 2008).

[7] AN, Interior-IJJ[4]8, L °5 (7 Aug., 13, 14 Oct. 1835, 11 May 1837), 18v, 35r, 35r–36v, 80r–81v contains samples of foreign and national, private and provincial government colonization proposals in Santa Catarina, Pará, Bahia and Sergipe.

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1830 to impose a martial colonial order across Transcaucasian borderlands.[8]

By contrast, Brazilian statesmen simply preferred the convict colonies known as degredos. According to empire minister Nicolau Vergueiro, "national colonies of poor men sentenced to hard labor or banishment in remote places" were more convenient than "government-led foreign colonization" because they would "improve communications ... and compensate for the dearth of prisons."[9] Minister Aureliano de Souza Oliveira Coutinho agreed and stealthily siphoned government funds toward degredos while pushing for "measures tending toward colonization with capitalists, agriculturalists and foreign artisans." Forced settlement schemes, in his view, would buy time to build a prison in Rio, promote consumption, and protect muleteer routes to the interior.[10] A mineiro deputy, Honório Hermeto Carneiro Leão, likewise saw degredos as substitutes for correctional facilities but proposed transforming them into "agrarian asylums" like the famous Hofwil "reform school" started in Switzerland in 1799. This was, he believed, a model suitable to the *sertão* of Guarapuava west of Curitiba or the Rio Doce valley, an area where the war against Botocudos had just recently ended in 1831.[11]

As these discussions about convict settlements dragged on, however, a nascent "spirit of association" began to rouse lawmakers from their antiquated ways. In France, as polymath Alexandre Laborde described it in 1818, this spirit had rallied French liberals to abandon commercial individualism for collective forms of business organization such as *sociétés en comandite par actions* or the limited-liability joint-stocks with

[8] Richard Anderson and Henry Lovejoy, eds., *Liberated Africans and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807–1896* (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2020); Osama W. Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity: Saint-Simonians and the Civilizing Mission in Algeria* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); Nicholas B. Breyfogle, *Heretics and Colonizers: Forging Russia's Empire in the South Caucasus* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

[9] Nicolau Vergueiro, *Relatório do Império* (1833), 24.

[10] AGCRJ, Câmara Municipal-41.1.65, Aureliano to City Council (27 July 1833); José Juan Pérez Meléndez, "Reconsiderando a política de colonização no Brasil imperial: os anos da Regência e o mundo externo," *RBH* 34, no. 68 (2014): 35–60; Carlos Moreira Araújo, "Cárceres imperiais: A Casa de Correção do Rio de Janeiro. Seus detentos e o sistema prisional no Império, 1831–1860," (PhD diss., Unicamp, 2009), 45–50; Alcir Lenharo, *As tropas da moderação. O abastecimento da Corte na formação política do Brasil: 1808–1842* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade, 1993), 60–71.

[11] 14 May, *ACD* (1833), 155–156; *AS* (1833), vol. 3, 155–157; *Relatório da Justiça* (1833), 17; *Correio Official* nos. 126–127 (8, 9 June 1838); Francisco Ferreira Júnior, "A prisão sem muros: Guarapuava e o degredo no Brasil do século XIX" (MA thesis, UFF, 2007).

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re-saleable shares and larger capital pools known as *sociétés anonymes*. The latter of these had bankrolled massive projects such as the Becquay plan for a national canal network.[12] Similar undertakings in the United States had astounded Brazilians. The first Brazilian ambassador to the United States, José Silvestre Rebello, enthused about the Ohio Canal seeking to connect the Mississippi to New York City.[13] On his return to Brazil, he tried to transpose that vision of connected waterways in the first issue of the *AIN*, extolling Brazil's natural "associational principle" – its rivers – as prefiguring the confluence of men into new associations. "One man alone," he wrote, "suffices for nothing; but many men with a bit in their pockets are good enough for anything." Soon, Minas Gerais politicians coalesced around developing the Rio Doce valley, with the provincial council issuing a call for foreign colonos to settle along the river and their counterparts in the Chamber of Deputies calling for "speculators" to help in the process.[14]

A Prussian businessman by the name of Johann Jakob Sturz met these growing calls with a consequential proposal that would change the trajectory of Brazilian peopling efforts: the Companhia de Navegação, Comércio e Colonização do Rio Doce (Rio Doce Company for Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, hereafter Rio Doce Company). When Sturz arrived in Brazil in 1830 to work with British mining companies, he rapidly discovered the generous concessions they enjoyed.[15] Aiming for similar privileges, Sturz scaffolded his company

[12] Alexandre Laborde, *De l'esprit d'association dans tous les intérêts de la communauté, ou, Essai sur le complément du bien-être et de la richesse en France par le complément des institutions* (Paris: Gide fils, 1818); Reed Geiger, *Planning the French Canals: Bureaucracy, Politics, and Enterprise Under the Restoration* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994); Julienne Laureyssens, "L'esprit d'association and the Société Anonyme in Early-Nineteenth-Century Belgium," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 80, no. 2 (2002): 517–530.

[13] Rebello to Foreign minister (26 Mar. 1825, 26 May 1828) in *Brasil-Estados Unidos, 1824–1829*, vol. 1 (Brasília: FUNAG, 2009), 224–229; vol. 2, 230–231; John Lauritz Larson, *Internal Improvement. National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the Early United States* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 196–204; Arthur Whitaker "José Silvestre Rebello: The First Diplomatic Representative of Brazil in the United States," *HAHR* 20, no. 3 (1940): 380–401.

[14] José Silvestre Rebello, "Memória sobre a necessidade de se crearem sociedades entre os homens," *AIN* 1, no. 11 (1833): 2–16; *Correio Mercantil* nos. 160, 321 (26 July 1831, 11 Feb. 1832).

[15] *ABN* 77 (1957): 78; "Plano para a organização de uma sociedade com a denominação de -'Companhia Brasileira Rio Doce'-1832" [J. D. Sturz to Paulo José de Souza (20 Oct. 1832)], *RAPM* 4 (1899): 792–801; Haruf Espindola, *O Sertão do Rio Doce* (Bauru: Edusc, 2005), 387–404; Judy Bieber, "'The Brazilian Rhône': Economic

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drive by prospecting locally, securing municipal support in Minas, then moving on to lobby political figures at the Court to then petition other provincial governments.

He began by trying to recruit Guido Thomas Marlière, a veteran of the Napoleonic wars who in 1824 became commander of Brazilian military forces and general director of Indians in the Rio Doce.[16] Aged 66, Marlière turned down Sturz's offer but helped Sturz with a Botocudo lexicon he had compiled, a map of regional sesmarias, and useful contacts with other entrepreneurs in the region. Sturz then conferred with Itabira's, Ouro Preto's, and Sabará's district councils, all within the watershed that he believed would eventually replace old muleteer trails. Locals held share subscription meetings in their homes and wrote favorably to the Chamber of Deputies.[17] As authorities in Rio got news of his plans, Sturz turned competitors into collaborators by associating with John Henry Freese and George [Henrique/Henry] Miller, two English merchants long settled in Rio whose own colonization pursuits, participation in the coffee trade, and ties to prominent politicians like Vergueiro were worth their weight in gold.[18]

Development of the Doce River Basin in Nineteenth-Century Brazil, 1819–1849," *JLAS* 48, no. 1 (2016): 89–114. Documents list Sturz as João Diogo in Brazil, John James in England, and Johann Jacobus in German.

[16] Decree (29 Apr.), *CLIB* (1834), vol. 1, 34; "Expedição ao Rio Doce," *RAPM* 17 (1912): 79, 81–82; Haruf Espindola, "A navegação do Rio Doce: 1800–1850," *Navigator* 3, no. 5 (2007): 50–72; Judy Bieber, "Mediation through Militarization: Indigenous Soldiers and Transcultural Middlemen of the Rio Doce Divisions, Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1808–1850," *The Americas* 71, no. 2 (2014): 227–254; and "Catechism and Capitalism: Imperial Indigenous Policy on a Brazilian Frontier, 1808–1845," in *Native Brazil*, ed. Hal Langfur (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 166–197; *Memórias e histórias de Guido Thomaz Marlière (1808–1836): A transferência da Corte Portuguesa e a tortuosa trajetória de um revolucionário francês no Brasil* (Campina Grande: Editora da UFCG, 2008).

[17] IHGB, Lata 12, pasta 15, Marlière to Sturz (copy/translation) (20 Feb. 1833); "Navegação do Rio Doce (1835)," *RAPM* 7 (1902): 1020–1021; Espindola, *Sertão*, 368–370; 11 July, *AS* (1835), 198–199; BN, Manuscritos-II-36,07,002, Ouro Preto district council to Chamber of Deputies secretary (9 July 1835); AGCRJ, Câmara Municipal-57.3.4, "Navegação do Rio de Janeiro ao Rio Doce e colonisação desta região do Espirito Santo" (c.1832–1834).

[18] *Almanak de 1827*, 168–169; *Annuário político, histórico e estatístico do Brasil: 1846* (Rio de Janeiro: Firmin Didot Irmãos, 1846), 403–404; *Remarks upon the Objects and Advantages of the Imperial Anglo-Brazilian Canal, Road, Bridge and Land Improvement Company* (London: Boosey and Co., 1835); *Correio Official*, no. 108 (6 Nov. 1835); *Paquete do Rio*, no. 171 (5 Aug. 1836); John Henry Freese, "Statistics of Brazil," in *Everybody's Book, or Gleanings Serious and Entertaining in Prose and Verse from the Scrap-Book of a Septuagenarian* (London: Longman, 1860), 629–643; Joseph Sweigart,

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When requesting favors, Sturz insisted on the Company's "collateral advantages": "spontaneous emigrations to those parts" and the "land sales that would accrue from the increased land values as population grew." Weaving together land, peopling, and revenues, he offered a timetable for "an essential colonization" of "well behaved and industrious colonos" that few experienced politicians would turn down.[19] His strategy succeeded in obtaining a 40-year navigation concession for the Rio Doce under the commitment to settle approximately 2,880 colonos across 24 square leagues of government land grants within 7 years.[20] By August 1835, 327 subscribers purchased all but 462 of the 2,500 shares available for Brazilians.[21] Among the top shareholders figured renowned patriarchs, seasoned statesmen, liberal spokesmen, and scions of the most powerful provincial family clans. Even Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos, who had fought similar efforts in the past, purchased shares and advised Sturz to remain "independent from government regarding contracts."[22]

Rounding up Brazil's high society represented a necessary step for Sturz to successfully court his primary targets: potential shareholders back in London. Sturz's plan reserved three-quarters of all shares for British subscribers, who, Sturz claimed, would be "greatly pleased by having some of the most distinguished gentlemen of this country as Associates." In London, he won the approval of Brazil's resident minister, who celebrated the Rio Doce Company as the harbinger of the first "regular system of colonization." At about the same time, Sturz published an impressive digest on Brazilian commercial statistics with a final chapter that peddled poor emigration to Brazil. All of these preparations, he hoped, would facilitate signing on big financiers like the Baring house, which Sturz approached for pecuniary assistance.[23]

"Financing and Marketing Brazilian Export Agriculture: The Coffee Factors of Rio de Janeiro, 1850–1888" (PhD diss., University of Texas, Austin, 1980), 12–108; Alan Santos Ribeiro, "'The Leading Commission-House of Rio de Janeiro': A firma Maxwell, Wright & Co. no comércio do Império do Brasil" (MA thesis, UFF, 2014).

[19] "Plano . . .," *RAPM* 4 (1899): 796; AGCRJ, 57.3.4; *Memorial apresentado ao corpo legislativo do Império do Brasil pela Companhia de Navegação, Commércio e Colonisação do Rio Doce* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1835); *JC*, no. 149 (11 July 1835).

[20] Decree (8 Jan.), (6 Aug.), *CLIB* (1836), vol. 1, 1; vol. 2, 203.

[21] AGCRJ, 57.3.4; *Correio Oficial*, no. 32 (7 Aug. 1835).

[22] "Plano . . .," 794, 796; Bieber, "Brazilian Rhône," 97–99, 104.

[23] AHI-MDB-London, 216/2/1, Brazilian minister in London Galvão to Empire minister Montezuma (6 Sept. 1837), Galvão to Foreign minister Antônio Peregrino Maciel

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Sturz's spirited lobbying notwithstanding, a string of complications beset the Rio Doce Company. An intractable topography, ill company staff, plummeting share values in London, and bureaucratic delays in Rio took their toll. Minas provincial officials began doubting the river's navigability while Sturz, undeterred, overreached for concessions in Bahia, commissioning a map of the Bay of All Saints from veteran Leopoldina colonos Bussche and Peter Weyl, publishing improvement pieces, and conferring with Bahian notables.[24] In the end, the concession Sturz sought went instead to a more successful Liverpool-Bahia trading company that later launched the Companhia Bahiana de Navegação a Vapor, which continued to operate until 1892.[25]

The Rio Doce Company limped on until finally dissolving in 1849, yet Sturz's work only became more central to colonization projects in Brazil after this apparent failure. Naturalized Brazilian in 1839, Sturz concocted a string of projects including an indigenous aldeamento in the Rio Doce, a cattle-ranching colonization company in Ceará, and a navigation enterprise in the Amazon. He also got in touch with John Russell, British secretary of War and Colonies, offering his services as a consultant in Rio and sharing a copy of his *German Emigration to British Colonies*, which underscored the profit-bearing effect of "emigrants, in a twofold manner, as interesting to commerce ... and as an article of 'freight'" and

Monteiro (3 Jan., 5 Dec. 1838); J. J. Sturz, *A Review Financial, Statistical and Commercial of the Empire of Brazil and Its Resources* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1837); BAd, HC2: 2.356, John James Sturz, *Sketch of the Objects and Advantages of the Proposed Rio Doce Navigation and Land Company* (London: R. A. Phelps, 1833); HC4: 4.2.3, Contract copy issued to John James Sturz to establish steam navigation in the province of Bahia (Sept. 14, 1837); HC4: 4.2.4, John James Sturz to Barings (17 Jan. 1838); *Resolução de 31 de julho de 1838 no. 84* (Salvador: Typ. Constitucional, 1838); *Resolução no. 110 de 10 de maio de 1839* (Bahia: Typ. do Correio Brasiliense, 1839).

[24] Bieber, "Brazilian Rhône," 105–108; Espindola, *O Sertão*, 390–406; *Mappa do Recôncavo da Bahia de Todos os Santos, levantado pelos sen^rs von Busch e Weyl, e dedicado a ilustre Assembléa Legislativa da Prov. da Bahia, por seu attento e obrigado criado João Diogo Sturz* (London: Standidge & Lemon, 1836), as listed in *ABN* 9, no. 1 (1881–1882): 240; AN, Interior-IJJ^9 337, Provincial president BA Francisco de Sousa Paraíso to Limpo de Abreu (8 Oct. 1836).

[25] APEB, *Resolução de 20 de maio de 1840 número 126* (Bahia: Typ. de J. G Bizerra, 1840); Decree no. 956 (27 July), *Coleção das Leis Brasileiras* (1892), vol. 1, pt. II, 392; Marcos Sampaio, *Navegação a vapor na Bahia oitocentista (1839–1894)* (Salvador: EDUFBA, 2014); *Reports of Cases in Chancery, Argued and Determined in the Rolls Court during the Time of Lord Langdale, Master of Rolls*, vol. 5 (London: Saunders and Benning, 1844), 546–554.

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thus highlighted the myriad profits to be had of directed migrations.[26] In 1842, Sturz attained Brazil's consulship in Berlin and went on to become the longest-serving foreign colonization advocate for Brazil until he resigned in 1858. In his new post, Sturz published emigration propaganda, shipped printed matter on colonization to the IHGB, shared colonization regulations from South Australia with statesmen, and gracefully hosted Brazilians sojourners.[27]

Still, this tireless service paled in comparison to Sturz's signal achievement: providing Brazilians with a crash course in how to organize a colonization company, which readied them to launch their own. Thanks to his early efforts to pave the way for corporate pursuits geared toward colonization, Brazilian businessmen and statesmen looked beyond the antiquated framework of convict settlements and imagined something far bigger and more lucrative. Sturz's pioneering work therefore readied a new cadre of Brazilian entrepreneurs to try their own hand in the business of colonization.

UNINCORPORATED LOOPHOLES: THE COMPANHIA COLONIZADORA DA BAHIA (CCB)

Sturz's efforts made a significant impression on Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, a Rio Doce Company subscriber from Bahia and die-hard devotee of technological and agricultural improvement. Following closely in Sturz's footsteps, Calmon began to organize a colonization company in 1835, the Companhia Colonizadora da Bahia (Bahia Colonization Company, hereafter CCB). Yet in contrast to Sturz's belabored attempts to secure incorporation in Rio and London, Calmon opted for a different form of business organization that bypassed the onus of obtaining a charter, choosing instead to assemble the CCB as an unincorporated company. As such, the CCB emerged untethered from strict government

[26] NAk, C.O. 318/151, Sturz to John Russell (24 May 1841); *CLIB* (1839), vol. 2, 11; *DRJ*, no. 151–152 (10, 11 July 1840); 22, 31 Aug., *AS* (1840), vol. 5, 299–302, 465.

[27] IHGB-(i), Lata 139, pasta 86, João Diogo Sturz to IHGB secretary Januário da Cunha Barbosa (3 Sept. 1843); Lata 141, doc. 5, Sturz to Barbosa (1845); Lata 142, doc. 95, Sturz to IHGB secretary Manoel Ferreira Lagos (18 Mar. 1847). Sturz sent books on poor laws, the *Asiatic Journal*, *Colonization Circular* issues on New Zealand, pamphlets on land distribution in Canada and South Australia, the statutes of the South Australia Company, and Fisher's *Colonial Magazine*; *O Progresso* nos. 146–147 (27, 29 July 1847); Mrs. Sturz to Gonçalves Dias (29 Dec. 1856), Carl von Martius to Gonçalves Dias (6 Apr. 1857), in *ABN* 91 (1971): 92, 120–121.

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vigilance, as it did not seek official approval at the outset. And it made use of that legal loophole to operate with relative freedom – if also with greater risks that it would have to shoulder on its own due to its lack of contractual commitments with the imperial government. Ultimately, the contagious business spirit of the CCB would stoke numerous other companies into existence, although the financial, political, and diplomatic crises that beset it also rang a note of caution regarding the dangers of foregoing central-government oversight and support for colonization matters.

A sterling trajectory prepared Calmon, who eventually became one of the longest-serving ministers in imperial Brazil, to keep the balance between risk and reward and brave the hazards of becoming a pioneering colonization empresario.[28] Born in the town of Santo Amaro in 1794, Calmon was educated in Nazaré under his maternal uncle, a Jesuit veteran of the Pombaline purge who had quietly returned from Rome. At 18, he left for Coimbra, graduating with a law degree just as Brazilian delegates arrived to the Lisbon Courts of 1821. Commissioned to convey an independence consultation to Bahia, Calmon served in the provisional government council in 1823 and oversaw rebel supply lines during the successful siege of Salvador.[29] Elected to the first legislature, he traveled to England and met with senior statesmen and then stayed in the Swiss Alps to write a series of anonymous "letters" surveying Malthus and David Ricardo for ideas about how to maximize government revenues and resolve food shortages in Bahia. Avidly hoping to build a "tropical England," Calmon joined the Chamber in 1826 and was quickly invited to take the Finance portfolio in the cabinet of 1827, the first to include deputies.[30]

[28] Luiz Boulanger, *Demonstração das mudanças de ministros e secretarios de estado do Império do Brasil de 1822 a 1871* (Rio de Janeiro: Laemmert, 1864); Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario bibliographico brazileiro*, vol. 6 (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1900), 273–276.

[29] Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, *Relatório dos trabalhos do Conselho Interino de Governo da província da Bahia* (Rio de Janeiro: Typografia do Jornal do Commercio, 1923 [1823]).

[30] Miguel Calmon [Americus], *Cartas políticas extrahidas do Padre Amaro* (London: R. Greenlaw, 1825); Pedro Calmon, *O Marquez de Abrantes* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Guanabara, 1933), 75. On food shortages, see Kátia Mattoso, *Bahia: A cidade do Salvador e seu mercado no século XIX* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1978), 253–260; B. J. Barickman, *A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780–1860* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Richard Graham, *Feeding the City: From Street Market to Liberal Reform in Salvador, Brazil, 1780–1860* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).

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As minister, Calmon had many close brushes with colonization. He shored up Cisplatina War expenditures involving German and Irish mercenaries and backed a government takeover of the Banco do Brasil, which would finance the transport of Portuguese emigrados from London.[31] He fielded complaints from the Prussian consul in Rio regarding the mistreatment of German colonos, and dove into government records to reconstruct Schäffer's activities.[32] Most importantly, he induced diplomats to engage with colonization. In 1830, he asked Antônio Menezes de Vasconcelos Drummond, a José Bonifácio's protégé serving as chargé d'affaires in Prussia, to "gather and contract industrious and willing men ... to cover the Empire's territory." He was to do so by publicizing Brazil's work contract law of 1828, approved during his stint in the Finance ministry, and by "conveying the immense profits that await them." Three years later, Menezes sent a powerful memorandum on colonization from Hamburg, recommending land grants, fast-track naturalization, and collaborations with emigrant protection societies to load ships otherwise heading to Brazil in ballast.[33] Other diplomats followed suit. From Washington, DC, Francisco de Paula Cavalcanti (brother of deputy Holanda Cavalcanti) wrote of the need to distribute land to "national or foreign Associations ... tied to Government by contractual obligations" to "recruit and transport colonos." Special envoy to Mexico Duarte da Ponte Ribeiro reported on Anglo-American settlers in Coahuila and Texas and sent news on colonization enterprises such as the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company. Calmon not only stoked this bourgeoning circuit of news and policy models but also became one of its leading beneficiaries, especially as the diplomatic network expanded with the addition of vice-consuls in 1834.[34]

[31] Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, *Documentos com que instruio o seu relatório á Assembléa Geral Legislativa do Império do Brasil o Ministro Secretario de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Nacional, 1829); 10–11 May, *ACD* (1830), vol. 1, 95–116.

[32] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}160, Calmon to Empire minister José Joaquim Carneiro de Campos (23 June 1830); Calmon to Empire minister João Ignácio da Cunha (30 Aug. 1830).

[33] Foreign minister Calmon to interim chargé in Prussia and Hanse Cities Menezes (18 Apr. 1830), *CCHDD* 7, no. 12 (2008): 119–120; AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}155, Menezes "Observações sobre os meios de proteger e animar a emigração europêa" (11 Mar. 1833); Foreign minister Aureliano to Menezes (27 May 1834) in *CCHDD* 7, no. 12 (2008): 161.

[34] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}155, Cavalcanti to minister Aureliano (20 Dec. 1836). Interestingly, Aureliano sent material on Nova Fribugo for Ponte Ribeiro to share in Mexico. Ponte

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Calmon's idea for a company in fact originated from the completion of a colono conveyance scheme facilitated directly by this diplomatic expansion. After the Portuguese Civil War, Brazil's general consul in Lisbon, Antônio da Silva Júnior, began inquiring about the new Portuguese government's emigration requirements and appointed vice-consuls on the Azorean islands of Flores, Terceira, Faial, and São Miguel. These new officers obtained their first instructions from Foreign minister Manuel Alves Branco in early 1835: to do everything in their power to help a captain by the name of Lourenço Justiniano Jardim in a colono recruitment drive already underway.[35] The trip was organized by Baptista Caetano de Almeida, a stalwart of São João d'el Rei's first public library, a close friend with Aureliano, and one of the deputies from Minas Gerais hoping to lure companies to the Rio Doce.[36] The captain he hired, who may have been a casual slaver, had long covered routes between Brazil, Portugal, and Cape Verde and now turned his recently purchased copper-lined 380-ton barque *Maria Adelaide* toward Faial. Arriving in April, Jardim and the vice-consul at Faial took a month to board migrants. The mayor at Terceira, however, prevented emigrants from boarding, insisting they had to apply for passports individually. Even though Jardim had recruited about 300 colonos, civil authorities reportedly refused to expedite passports, forcing the *Maria Adelaide* to sail without colonos.[37]

But the ship arrived safely in Rio by September with 215 colonos onboard, a sign of its clandestine workings. Jardim spent the next two weeks hiring out these islanders, many of whom were "field hands and young men apt as shop assistants." The feat earned unanimous praise.

Ribeiro to officer Silva Lisboa (9 May, 3 June, 3 Oct. 1834); Ponte Ribeiro to Aureliano (26 Mar., 30 Apr., 25 June 1835), in *CCHDD* 7, no. 12 (2012): 78, and *CCHDD* 11, no. 21 (2012): 9, 37, 84–85; Decree (14 Apr.), *CLIB* (1834), vol. 1, 50; *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 75, 76 (17 Nov. 1830, 8 Jan. 1833); *O Chronista*, no. 2 (1 Oct. 1836); Pérez Meléndez, "Reconsiderando."

[35] AHI-MDB-Lisbon, 251/2/14, Portuguese officer Agostinho José Freire to Silva Júnior (21 May 1834), Portuguese Foreign minister conde de Vila Real to Silva Júnior (24 Dec. 1834), "Relação dos vice-consules do Brasil em Portugal e seus domínios, 1835"; 251/2/15, Silva Júnior to Vila Real (14 Oct. 1834). For background on some vice-consuls see Marcelino Lima, *Famílias faialenses (subsídios para a história da Ilha do Faial)* (Horta: Tipografia Minerva Insulana, 1922), 516, 523, 525–526.

[36] Carlos Maculan, "As luzes do tempo: Baptista Caetano de Almeida, projeto civilizacional e práticas políticas no Brasil pós-independência (São João del-Rei, 1824–1839)" (MA thesis, UFJF, 2011).

[37] *JC*, nos. 51, 114, 270, 277, 36, 38 (4 Mar., 23 May, 1, 11 Dec. 1834, 16, 18 Feb. 1835); AHI-RCB-Azores, 252/4/6, vice-consul at Faial Alves Guerra to Alves Branco (25 Apr., 8 May 1835); vice-consul at Terceira Amaral to Alves Branco (7 May 1835).

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Alves Branco personally commended the efforts of Faial's vice-consul, who then loaded four more vessels with colonos before year's end.[38] Two weeks after the arrival, senator conde de Lajes advanced a bill to replace the government's enslaved workers with free laborers via migrant conveyance and another awarding the Imperial Order of Cruzeiro to captain Jardim "for being the first recruiter to import free hands to Brazil at such a scale."[39]

Inspired, Calmon launched a new colonization company drive by publishing a memória doubling as a prospectus. After his first ministry, Calmon got better acquainted with colonization. He visited London for a second time, coinciding with parliamentary debates on emigration and "home colonization." Upon his return as part of the pro-monarchical bloc in the second legislature, he supported a bold blanket naturalization for the São Leopoldo colonos. Taking the vice-presidency of the Sociedade de Agricultura, Comércio e Indústria da Bahia (Bahian Agricultural, Commercial and Industrial Society, SACIB), he subscribed to international periodicals like the *Journal des connaisances utiles* and Charleston's *The Southern Agriculturalist* while writing a barrage of improvement pieces and reprinting Portuguese philosopher's Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira "Das colonias estrangeiras" ("On Foreign Colonies").[40] Calmon's memória, which was printed first in the

[38] AHI-RCB-Azores, 252/4/6, Alves Branco to Amaral (18 Aug., 6 Oct. 1835); RCB-Lisbon, 251/2/14, Silva Júnior to Alves Branco (12 June, 28 Aug., 12, 24 Dec.1835); *JC*, nos. 196, 204, 222, 273, 32, 136, 138 (9, 18 Sept., 9 Oct., 10 Dec. 1835, 11 Feb., 25, 28 June 1836). Details on the four additional voyages suggest that recruitment drives, including loading and time at sea, took about seven months.

[39] Neither bill passed after discussion in May 1836. See 22 Sept., 19 May, *AS* (1835, 1836), 404–405, 59–60. Nicolau Vergueiro opposed them, stating that title-granting was an executive competency, when in fact he was cutting the competition in favor of his son Luiz, who was then organizing his own colonization company in São Paulo.

[40] AN, Interior-IJJ[4]25, Calmon to Chamber of Deputies (1830); Calmon, *O Marquez*, 153–163; *HC* (22 Feb., 30 Mar., 13 Apr. 1831), vol. 2, cc875–906, vol. 3, cc1210–34, vol. 3, cc1284–1305; and HL (23 June 1831), vol. 4, cc261–267. Hansard, 1803–2005 (http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/); Miguel Calmon, *Ensaio sobre o fábrico do açúcar* (Salvador: FIEB, 2002 [1834]); and "Communicado sobre a importância da boa redacção deste Jornal, e meios de conseguil-a," "Memória sobre o cultivo do tabaco," "Sobre o uso do harnêz para o trabalho dos bois," "Memória sobre a cultura do cacáo," *JSACIB*, nos. 34, 37, 4 (June, Sept. 1835, Apr. 1836): 691–699, 846–852, 1–24; Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, "Das colonias estrangeiras," "Das colonias agrícolas," "Sobre a necessidade de se formarem companhias," *JSACIB*, nos. 29, 31, 33 (Jan., Mar., May 1835): 491–502, 579–599, 661–666. On improvement and *aperfeiçoamento* among Calmon's peers, see Teresa Cribelli, *Mechanical Marvels and Industrial Forests: Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

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JSACIB, then in pamphlet form, and finally reproduced in various newspapers, expanded a bourgeoning improvement agenda with global underpinnings.[41]

The memória laid bare its models by opening with an epigraph by Bandana, the pseudonym of John Galt, the controversial administrator of the Canada Company (est. 1826) and the British American Land Company (1832). "The business of settling a new Country," it read, "is much better managed by private adventurers than by governments." However, in Calmon's translation to Portuguese, "adventurers" was replaced by "Companies" in order to link up those exemplars with the private enterprises "already promoting Colonization with free people" in Rio with recent colono shipments from Azores and Macau. Calmon tried to persuade readers that "a well-organized Company" would only bolster such efforts by lone-wolf captains if it followed the model of the South Australia Colonization Company (1831) or Canadian ventures such as the New Brunswick & Nova Scotia Land Company (1834).[42]

In addition to provocative references to dashing new companies, Calmon could leverage his cachet as a veteran minister, current deputy, and recently elected provincial assemblyman to rally fellow Bahians to his proposed enterprise. At least 78 of an initial pool of 143 subscribers attended the CCB's launch in early November 1835 in a formal ceremony at the Santa Teresa convent in Salvador. The provincial vice-president and archbishop Romualdo Antônio de Seixas (then deputy for Bahia), hosted the ceremony next to other notables. Attendees elected Calmon as director, plus two vice-directors: José Cerqueira Lima, a provincial deputy and slave trafficker, and the former provincial president. A local customs officer was appointed secretary and two English merchants became

[41] Miguel Calmon, "Memória sobre o estabelecimento d'uma companhia de colonisação nesta Província," *JSACIB*, no. 38 (Oct. 1835): 857–871; *Memória sobre o estabelecimento d'uma companhia de colonisação nesta Província* (Bahia: Typ. do Diario de G. J. Bizerra, 1835); *JC*, nos. 248, 267 (9 Nov., 1 Dec. 1835); *Correio Official*, no. 115 (14 Nov. 1835); *O Sete d'Abril*, no. 299 (2 Dec. 1835).

[42] Bandana, "On Colonial Undertakings," *Blackwood's Magazine* 20 (July–Dec. 1826): 304–308. In the same issue, Calmon probably also read "Bandana on Emigration," 470–478, on the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission. See Andrew Picken, *The Canadas, as They at Present Commend Themselves to the Enterprize of Emigrants, Colonists, and Capitalists* (London: Wilson, 1832); John Galt, *The Autobiography of John Galt*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Key & Biddle, 1833); Anatole Browde, "Settling the Canadian Colonies: A Comparison of Two Nineteenth-Century Land Companies," *Business History Review* 76, no. 2 (2002): 299–335; Calmon, *Memória*, 5, 12–13; 19 Sept., *ACD* (1835), vol. 2, 302. The Macau colono shipment was organized by Joaquim dos Ramos, who offered importing Chinese wage workers for the government.

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advisers. The meeting drew 449 share subscriptions and within a month the board had a total of 370 members and a capital of 67:900$000.[43] In the main, the CCB adopted "democratic" measures such as a low entrance threshold of 100$ per share and graduated voting in the likeness of firms such as the Canada Company. No shareholder list has survived, but membership revolved around the SACIB, which purchased 20 shares and made its members indirect participants. Membership included powerful surnames like Aragão Bulcão and Teive Argolo but also merchants, slave traders, and professionals. Participation with kin was common.[44]

Technically, this varied membership found an equal voice in company decisions. But from the outset, the board explicitly targeted "the wealthiest property owners of the Recôncavo," and the CCB's procedural rules, particularly its voting system, subsumed small to large shareholders. The CCB thus replicated existing social hierarchies. In comparison to the Canada Company, which probably inspired Calmon, and whose voting scale was scaffolded by broad intervals and capped at four votes, the CCB adopted a scale with smaller intervals between votes up to a 10-vote maximum. Under this system, a top investor would have 10 times greater weight in company decisions than a member with the least number of shares. Compounding the undemocratic profile of the CCB, Calmon was both the director and the most powerful shareholder, commanding his own shares as well as the seven votes of the SACIB, over which he now presided. In short, collapsing management and ownership onto the figure of Calmon showed that the CCB not only preserved but also maximized the dominance of the already powerful (Table 3.1).

As an unincorporated company, the CCB operated freely without a charter from government to define its obligations. Still, it initially benefited from support at various levels of government. Regent Diogo Feijó issued instructions for provincial presidents to promote colonization once

[43] AN, Interior-IJJ^{9}337 – "Lista dos cidadãos que obtiverão votos na apuração geral para Membros da Assembléa Provincial" (4 Feb. 1835); *Acta da sessão do Directório da Companhia de Colonisação da Bahia, no dia 17 de abril de 1837* (Bahia: Typ. da Viuva Serva, 1837); *Diário da Bahia*, no. 15 (20 May 1836).

[44] Calmon, *Memória*; The Canada Company, *List of the Proprietors of the Canada Company* (London: W. Marchant, 1829); *JSACIB*, no. 2 (15 Feb. 1836), 8. In the absence of shareholder rosters, I have reconstructed CCB membership based on verified board directors and, as proxy, SACIB membership as gathered from *JSACIB*; *O Sete d'Abril*, no. 299 (2 Dec. 1835); Nilton de Almeida Araújo, "Pionerismo e hegemonia: A construção da agronomia como campo científico na Bahia (1832–1911)" (PhD diss., UFF, 2010); Bahia, *Boletim da Secretaria de Agricultura* 1, no. 1 (May 1903). Calmon took over SACIB when its previous president died in Dec. 1835.

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TABLE 3.1 *Ratio of shares bought to number of votes per shareholder*

Shares	Canada Company	Companhia Colonisadora
1	0	1
4	0	2
6	1	3
8	1	4
10	1	5
14	2	6
18	2	7
22	3	8
26	4	9
30	4	10

companies had been installed.[45] Bahia's provincial government allowed Calmon to use military barracks as a migrant hostel (*depósito*), while the vice-president wrote to the Foreign Affairs ministry to bolster Calmon's request for vice-consular support.[46] A little later, the consul in Lisbon requested the company statutes to inform "speculators" and vice-consuls set swiftly to work. In Faial, Alves Guerra requested confirmation of his appointment as he recruited 105 workers who landed three months later in Bahia and Rio.[47] From Genoa and Rome, resident minister Menezes organized other colono shipments, including one of political convicts kept by the Vatican in the seaside prison of Civitavecchia. By early 1837, the CCB had managed to import 472 colonos and accept another 332 from private speculators.[48]

Despite diplomatic support, the CCB faced growing difficulties. About 46 shareholders failed to meet the payment schedule in 1837, and many consistently skipped company meetings, the last of which fell short of the

[45] *JC*, no. 281 (19 Dec. 1835).

[46] APEB-SCP, mç. 4608, Calmon to vice-president BA Joaquim Marcelino de Brito (3 Dec. 1835); *Acta da sessão*; José Ignácio Borges, *Relatório dos Negócios Estrangeiros* (1836).

[47] AHI-RCB-Lisbon, 251/2/14, consul general Sousa Corrêa to Foreign minister José Ignácio Borges (11, 25 June, 2 Aug. 1836); MDB-Lisbon, 215/2/13, Foreign minister Limpo de Abreu to consul general Sérgio Teixeira de Macedo (7 Mar. 1837).

[48] In March, Bahian president Francisco de Sousa Paraíso reported that the CCB had imported 727 Azorean and Spanish colonos. Calmon's management report of April 1837 stated that the CCB had imported a total of 472 colonos by itself and taken 332 others from private contractors. *O Chronista*, no. 45 (11 Mar. 1837); *Acta da sessão*; *Diário da Bahia*, nos. 26, 36 (6, 20 June 1836).

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required quorum but was held as an exception. In addition, some colonos deserted upon arrival. Others waiting to be hired became a financial burden. In a sign of its growing needs, the CCB authorized contractors to pay in installments, implementing a 9 percent annual interest on delayed payments.

Portuguese officials also created new hurdles. When the Portuguese brigantine *Comêta* arrived in Bahia in late April 1836, the consul at Salvador protested that its captain and consignee had imposed "harmful conditions" on colonos and charged "exorbitant freight costs," accusing them of violating the Portuguese Commercial Code and demanding all contracts be redrafted in person at his office. The captain and the consignee invoked the 1830 law on service contracts (*prestação de serviço*) to justify their proceedings and claimed the jurisdiction of a Brazilian court of law rather than a consulate. To defuse tensions, Bahia's president asked the Portuguese consul to cooperate with the CCB to "advantageously employ" the colonos, but Calmon protested that prompting such consular meddling risked jeopardizing colonization "by private speculation."[49]

To complicate things for the CCB, three "miserably unhappy Italians" sent by Menezes from Rome wrote directly to Rio imploring the young emperor for help given their wretched fates after arrival in Salvador. This formal complaint put Calmon and the CCB in a very delicate position, as the colonos blamed them for their poor accommodations and for making false promises of employment. With a duty to respond, the imperial government initiated an inquiry into the matter. CCB vice-director Cerqueira Lima tried to handle the fallout by deflecting blame and signaling the hardships experienced by the company itself.[50]

Surprisingly, in the midst of this damage control response, Calmon unilaterally decided to dissolve the company. He informed shareholders of this determination in the CCB's only surviving report, which disclosed company accounts to reveal a staggering deficit and a number of unpaid debts. Bahia's president swiftly forwarded the report to imperial

[49] *Diário da Bahia*, no. 43 (30 June 1836); *Paquete do Rio*, nos. 108, 109 (16, 17 May 1836); Law (13 Sept.), *CLIB* (1830), vol. 1, 32–33.

[50] AN, Interior-IJJ^{9}337, Nicolo Mo[rec]one, Tommaso [Mosto] and Giacomo Noli to the emperor (undated, but on the Foreign Ministry's docket in late March or early April); Cerqueira Lima to Francisco de Sousa Paraíso (8 June 1837); Sousa Paraíso to Foreign minister Alves Branco (14 June 1837); APEB-SCP, mç. 853.

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authorities in an effort to exculpate the CCB and clear its principals' names. Calmon in turned proposed that the company wind up its commitments and then adopt a purely "philanthropic" role by offering advice to colonos and contractors.[51] Untarnished, a few months later Calmon was invited to take the Finance portfolio in the new "cabinet of capacities" (*ministério das capacidades*) organized by Pedro de Araújo Lima as part of a sharp conservative turn known as the *Regresso*.

However, ensuing events prevented Calmon from glossing over the CCB experience so easily. Starting in November 1837, the Italian colonos recruited by Menezes in the dungeons of Civitavecchia participated in a violent uprising in Salvador by which discontented regiments of *pardos* (persons descended from Black and white parents) averse to the Regresso's recentralization took over the city for the span of four months. As the Sabinada rebellion unfolded and the news spread, the Foreign minister pointed his finger at the Holy nuncio in Rio, warning him that the "Pontifical subjects who have partaken actively in the rebellion" should not abuse Brazilian hospitality. But public opinion attributed responsibility instead to Calmon and his company.[52] One Bahian paper called him the "great trainbearer for the Portuguese!," conflating his promotion of Azorean colonos with his past support for Pedro I and a recently approved Luso-Brazilian commercial treaty.[53] Going further, *O Chronista*, an incendiary paper headed by Justiniano José da Rocha, excoriated Menezes for recruiting "the dregs of Italy" and censured the CCB's "colonization commerce" as a reprehensible "new means of making a profit," which put in manifest the company's true motivations.[54]

The CCB's top figures not only survived these attacks but painlessly transcended them. Menezes received orders to enact a military recruitment plan in Portugal following the Chamber's authorization of such conscriptions to face off the Farroupilha rebellion in southern Brazil. To this end, interestingly, he relied on contacts from previously maligned

[51] *Acta da sessão*.

[52] APEB-SCP, mç. 784, Maciel to Sousa Paraíso (29 Dec. 1837); Hendrik Kraay, "'As Terrifying as Unexpected': The Bahian Sabinada, 1837–1838," *HAHR* 72, no. 4 (1992): 501–527.

[53] *Collecção de documentos relativos ao tratado de commércio concluído entre o Brazil e Portugal* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imp. e Const. de J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1836), 132–133; *O Repúblico*, no. 3 (21 Jan. 1837).

[54] *O Chronista*, no. 257 (20 Nov. 1838).

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colonization campaigns, specifically a retired German veteran of Pedro I's mercenary ranks.[55] Calmon in turn saw his reputation restored with the Sabinada's defeat, opening the way for a reappraisal of his company's activities, with observers blaming exogenous factors for CCB shortcomings including colonos' incapacity "to bear the Sun's intensity and other hardships in our fields."[56]

The CCB's unincorporated status insulated Calmon and others from its public liabilities and shielded the Brazilian government from responsibility as well. Having assembled the upper crust of Bahian planter and merchant society, the company further bolstered Calmon's standing with an elite esprit de corps that only strengthened during the Sabinada and that manifested the CCB's power as a shareholder oligarchy. Indeed, Calmon's career soared to new heights, and even though he unilaterally decided to liquidate the company's assets, no subscriber sued despite the move amounting to an expropriation by a "corporate insider."[57] The experience held valuable lessons. For one thing, combining the joint-stock form and the colono trade could buoy political trajectories. For another, unincorporated status made companies nimble in the face of political adversity. However, Calmon's CCB was not the only company formation tried in the wake of Sturz's early pathfinding. And just as the unincorporated model yielded important lessons for future entrepreneurs, so too did parallel efforts to pursue operations under a government charter and at a far grander scale.

COLONO TRADES AND GOVERNMENT PARTNERSHIP: THE SOCIEDADE PROMOTORA DE COLONIZAÇÃO

In 1835, as Calmon was getting the CCB off the ground, the spirit of association also visited the French consul in Rio, Jacques-Marie Aymard, conde de Gestas. His epiphany was "a system of colonization" run by a SAIN affiliate and based on a three-pronged process identical to the CCB's: recruiting colonos from ship captains, "guarding them in a warehouse" for distribution, and producing dividends from the costs of

[55] AHI-MDB-Lisbon, 213/4/2, consul general Macedo to Maciel (5 May 1838); Brazilian minister Menezes to Maciel (30 July, 27 Aug., 29 Nov. 1838).
[56] *Correio Mercantil* (BA), nos. 164, 174 (6, 20 Aug. 1839).
[57] Naomi Lamoreaux, "Scylla or Charybdis? Historical Reflections on Two Basic Problems of Corporate Governance," *The Business History Review* 83, no. 1 (2009): 9–34.

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transport and daily maintenance. Gestas's idea took center stage in a SAIN meeting that November in which a special commission improved his proposal by opening the projected company's membership to anyone beyond the SAIN who purchased one of its 100-milréis shares. A subscription drive committee was appointed that included not only Januário da Cunha Barbosa and the SAIN secretary but also, as a testament to his influence, Johann Jakob Sturz.[58] By mid-January, the new Sociedade Promotora de Colonização (Society for the Promotion of Colonization, hereafter SPC) had launched. Justice minister Limpo de Abreu showed immediate support by publicizing its statutes together with an ordinance for the public works inspector to hire free workers.[59] The SPC board organized in the first company meeting in February 1836 included the same Menezes who had helped Calmon with the CCB; a Coimbra-trained lawyer named Diogo Soares da Silva Bivar, editor of Brazil's first gazette, *A Idade d'Ouro* (1811), who was elected secretary; and Araújo Lima, the renown Pernambucan at the helm of the Regresso, who took the SPC's presidency. Despite anonymous allegations that the company would "become a mercantile and usurer operation," the SPC signed up 355 associates who purchased a total of 572 shares.[60]

The SPC demonstrated a responsiveness to government directives as it launched its daily operations. To begin, it turned a warehouse into a migrant "depot" (*depósito*) where *locatários* (contractors) came to hire workers (*locadores*). The locale was situated in Lapa, a neighborhood notorious for petty crime and prostitution. Soon municipal authorities flagged the depot as a potential epidemiological hotspot. Granted the facilities were not ideal, the SPC continued its pioneering efforts to define the depot or hostel as an institution for migrant reception and distribution and, in response to the municipality's concerns, took measures to keep it empty by daytime and police colono movements in its vicinity.[61]

Beyond everyday operations, the SPC also collaborated closely with imperial and city authorities in the face of unexpected crises. When the

[58] Extract of 15 Nov. session, *AIN* 3, no. 12 (1835) – the proposal was dated Oct. 27, 1835. *JC*, no. 176 (11 Aug. 1837).

[59] *Estatutos da Sociedade Promotora de Colonisação* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Americana de I. P. da Costa, 1836); Portaria (13 Jan.), *CLIB* (1836), 9–13.

[60] *DRJ*, no. 10 (10 Mar. 1836); *JC*, no. 73 (2 Apr. 1836).

[61] *Relatório do exame das prisões, cárceres, hospitaes e estabelecimentos de caridade apresentado á Illustríssima Câmara Municipal da Côrte* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Diário de N. L. Vianna, 1837).

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overcrowded Spanish ship *Libertad* arrived from the Canary Islands on June 1836 with 580 colonos, it also brought a bout of cholera in its hold. In response, the SPC dispatched two of its members, doctors Joseph François Xavier Sigaud and Manuel do Valadão Pimentel, to assess the situation and coordinate with the imperial government to quarantine colonos, strengthening its role as a reliable government partner.[62]

Indeed, the SPC functioned as much more than a mere joint-stock company. It agglomerated services and useful social liaisons in a relatively expansive membership that included port merchants and service providers. As such, it functioned as a "consumer cooperative" that pooled resources and services for its shareholders. This web of reciprocity encompassed a broad spectrum of participants from different provinces, professions, and nationalities and facilitated access to a wealth of resources, including commercial know-how to negotiate with colono carriers, currency exchange, tips for Azorean recruitments from Azorean-descent members, and land leases in the proximity of the hostel in Lapa.[63]

Moreover, a surviving list of 67 top shareholders (those owning at least six shares and thus eligible for board positions) hints at the middle- and high-class backgrounds of the SPC's uppermost membership. In this regard, the SPC served as what two legal scholars refer to as a "subscriber democracy," a company that gave urban professionals a relatively "democratic" training ground, allowing these middling sectors leading roles in company operations, specifically in clerk duties and middle management, while still subjecting them to the politics of patronage. Hence, these second-class members still had to balance class-based deference to powerful politicians or planter families like the Souza Breves or the Nogueira da Gamas with their company participation, in the end

[62] José Juan Pérez Meléndez, "Outbreaks, Shares, and Contracts: The Press and the Migrant Trade in Early Imperial Brazil," in *Press, Power and Culture in Imperial Brazil*, ed. Celso Castilho, Teresa Cribelli and Hendrik Kraay (Albuquerque: New Mexico University Press, 2021), 90–110; AHI-MDB-Lisbon, 251/2/14, Brazil's consul Mariano Carlos de Sousa Corrêa to Foreign minister Alves Branco (30 Oct. 1835); *DRJ*, no. 11 (16 Jun. 1836); *JC*, no. 130 (16 June 1836); AN, Guerra-IG[1]339, Empire minister Limpo de Abreu to War minister Manuel da Fonseca de Lima e Silva (16, 22 June 1836); Joseph François Sigaud, *Du climat et des maladies du Brésil ou statistique médicale de cet empire* (Paris: Fortin, Masson & Co., 1844), 98–102, 192–200.

[63] Henry Hansmann and Mariana Pargendler, "The Evolution of Shareholder Voting Rights: Separation of Ownership and Consumption," *The Yale Law Journal* 123, no. 4 (2014): 948–1013.

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reinforcing the SPC's character as a shareholder oligarchy, albeit a less rigid one than the CCB.[64] Such dynamic and relatively porous membership allowed the SPC to import 2,112 colonos from 1836 to 1838, mostly from Portugal except about 226 Germans originally destined for Sydney. Even a colonization naysayer like minister Vasconcelos lauded its progress.[65]

Notably, the SPC sustained a mutually beneficial engagement with the government thanks to the fact that its own president, Araújo Lima, also presided over the Chamber of Deputies. From his perch, he helped the SPC to overcome opposition and carefully shepherded favorable policies. For example, when a special commission in the Chamber expressed support for granting lands to the SPC, with northeastern deputies demanding similar benefits for the CCB, mineiros Carneiro Leão and Vasconcelos averred that special favors would harm private enterprise.[66] But Araújo Lima still pushed through a budget law incentivizing the colono trade by enshrining anchorage fee exceptions for vessels with more than 100 white colonos of any creed. Vice-consuls in Azores quickly publicized the law, but Portuguese officials just as quickly applied new exit fees. Some Brazilians then advocated that only a broader anchorage exception that included smaller colono voyages could override the new fees.[67] Araújo Lima's and other deputies' backroom dealings thus had a multiplier effect in terms of raising awareness for the need of more expansive colono-friendly policies, and one that began to reflect beyond the colono trade itself when the Chamber reauthorized foreign enlistments and sent Barbacena again to the British Isles and later to Hamburg, where he enlisted 454 men.[68]

[64] *DRJ*, nos. 2, 94 (2 July 1836, 26 Apr. 1839); *JC*, nos. 42, 254 (23 Feb., 21 Nov. 1836); *AIN*, no. 173 (1838); R. J. Morris, "Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1789–1850: An Analysis," *The Historical Journal* 26, no. 1 (1983): 95–118; Alborn, *Conceiving Companies*.

[65] *DRJ*, no. 25 (31 July 1837); Vasconcelos, *Relatório do Império* (1837), 30.

[66] *DRJ*, nos. 16, 20 (21, 26 Apr. 1836).

[67] Decree (18 Apr.), *CLIB* (1836), 41–42; *O Observador*, no. 5 (21 May 1836); AHI-MDB-Lisbon, 213/4/1, consul general Macedo to Foreign minister Borges (10 June 1836).

[68] The UK firm hired by Barbacena, Wilcox and Anderson, later sued the imperial government for non-payment, but the Brazilian minister in London countered bad press with a brochure inviting colonization proposals in a sign of the Brazilian government's growing openness to private enterprises. AHI-MDB-London, 216/1/15, consul general Galvão to Alves Branco (7, 12 May 1836); to Foreign minister Borges (8 June–6 May 1836); 216/2/1, to Foreign minister Pantoja (7, 28 Feb., 5 Apr 1837); to Maciel (4 Apr. 1838): Sturz, *A Review*, 143.

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Close government ties and growing support among deputies emboldened the SPC to propose a bill that coursed through the legislative docket in less than a year to become the 1837 *lei locação de serviços* (service contract law). This new law overrode its more generic precedents of 1828 and 1830. But its main purpose was to resolve the Portuguese ambassador's allegations against the SPC contracting of minors without the oversight of a *curador* (guardian). Even though the Portuguese diplomat saw himself as the rightful guardian, the lei de locação assigned guardianship instead to colonization associations or *juízes de órfãos* (literally "orphan judges" who oversaw minors and inheritances) and further authorized *juízes de paz* to oversee any contractual feuds that could elicit diplomatic involvement.

The law did not deliver equitable outcomes in colono-led suits, but it did codify a legal language of rights and responsibilities that, among other things, required patrons accused of withholding wages to deposit the contested amount before being heard in court. In one case, a merchant opted to flee when his caixeiro demanded two years of backpay rather than deposit an equivalent bond.[69] At the same time, the law freed police chief Eusébio de Queirós to aggressively police workers' lives and counter a perceived criminal wave accompanying rising migrant entries to Rio. Of the 5,163 foreigners estimated by the Police Intendancy to live at the Court in 1834, close to half (2,445) possessed no passport or registration. In 1836, Eusébio turned his attention to two internal ordinances from 1824 and 1832 mandating fees for foreigner residency permits that had remained uncollected and instructed juízes de paz to begin collecting them. The permits, similar to the July Monarchy's *permis de séjour*, allowed the Police Intendancy to arrest undocumented migrants and dramatically expand the type of individually identifiable information available about them. If in earlier times alleged vagrants or colonos in breach of contracts had to sign pledges to seek honest jobs (*termos de ocupação honesta*) before walking free, the new residency permits destined them to work at

[69] 1 Sept., 11 Oct., *ACD* (1836), vol. 2, 237–239, 408–409; Law no. 108 (11 Oct.), *CLIB* (1837), vol. 1, 76; AN, Judiciário-Tribunal da Relação, 84.0.ACI.05126, Antonio José Ramalho v. Antonio Joaquim Meneses (5 Oct. 1837–23 Apr. 1839). On wage suits brought by caixeiros and housemaids, jobs with high Portuguese representation, see Henrique Espada Lima, "Wages of Intimacy: Domestic Workers Disputing Wages in the Higher Courts of Nineteenth-Century Brazil," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 88 (2015): 11–29; Henrique Espada Lima and Fabiane Popinigis, "Maids, Clerks, and the Shifting Landscape of Labor Relations in Rio de Janeiro, 1830s–1880s," *International Review of Social History* 62, no. 25 (2017): 45–73.

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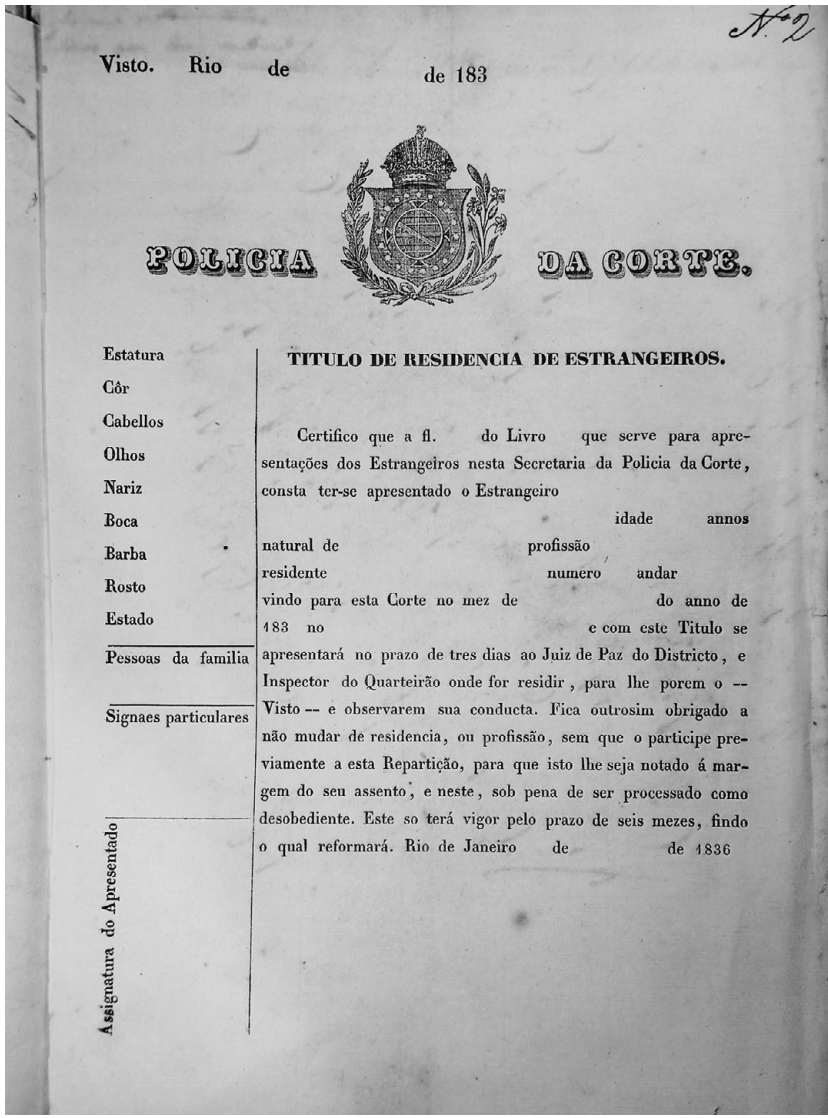
Nº 2

Visto. Rio de de 183

POLICIA DA CORTE.

Estatura
Côr
Cabellos
Olhos
Nariz
Boca
Barba
Rosto
Estado

Pessoas da familia

Signaes particulares

Assignatura do Apresentado

TITULO DE RESIDENCIA DE ESTRANGEIROS.

Certifico que a fl. do Livro que serve para apresentações dos Estrangeiros nesta Secretaria da Policia da Corte, consta ter-se apresentado o Estrangeiro

idade annos
natural de profissão
residente numero andar
vindo para esta Corte no mez de do anno de
183 no e com este Titulo se
apresentará no prazo de tres dias ao Juiz de Paz do Districto, e Inspector do Quarteirão onde for residir, para lhe porem o -- Visto -- e observarem sua conducta. Fica outrosim obrigado a não mudar de residencia, ou profissão, sem que o participe previamente a esta Repartição, para que isto lhe seja notado á margem do seu assento, e neste, sob pena de ser processado como desobediente. Este so terá vigor pelo prazo de seis mezes, findo o qual reformará. Rio de Janeiro de de 1836

FIGURE 3.1 Residency permit for foreigners, 1836

the Navy yard or the Casa de Correção, similarly to the fate of liberated Africans under the Justice ministry (Figure 3.1).[70]

[70] AN, Justiça-IJ^{6}169, Eusébio do Aureliano (3 Jan. 1834); "Relação dos estrangeiros residentes n'esta Capital" (7 Feb. 1834); IJ^{6}174, Joaquim José Moreira Maia,

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The new lei de locação de serviços dramatically expanded Eusébio's ability to round up alleged idlers and undocumented Portuguese men, and the Municipal Code of 1838 soon reinforced this new exercise of authority.[71] In addition to furnishing coerced labor for government dependencies, these interventions sought revenues, too. Eusébio, for instance, pondered raising the cost of residency permits to 800 réis, almost doubling the price set in the 1832 guidelines. Similarly, Finance minister Calmon imposed a 60-milréis annual tax on foreign shop assistants at the Court, Salvador, and Pernambuco, and 30 for those in other capitals, which, despite criticisms, promised to yield a steady stream of public earnings given the multitude of Portuguese caixeiros in port cities.[72]

Brazilian authorities' stratagems emboldened the SPC to adopt rogue practices initially with government support. Secretary Bivar, for example, publicly declared that the company only accepted colonos with certificates of good conduct while Brazil's vice-consul at Terceira offered these freely to "all the farmers who . . . wish to go live in the Brazilian Empire." Increasingly, however, the SPC engaged in duplicitous actions with a degree of autonomy from government, as when its agents actively sabotaged colonization enterprises headed to New Zealand and Australia. When their vessels stopped in Rio, SPC agents cajoled their emigrants to stay.[73] The captain of one such ship, the *Justine*, was offered 20 contos to

Constantino Lobo de Almeida et al. to police chief Eusébio de Queirós (8 Jan. 1836), Eusébio to Limpo de Abreu (29 Jan. 11 Feb. 1836), "Extracto das partes" (21 Mar., 23 May 1837); IJ^{6}177, Eusébio to Montezuma (1–2 June, 26 Aug. 1837); IJ^{6}191, Eusébio to Justice minister Vasconcelos (30 Jan. 1839). On liberated Africans, see Beatriz G. Mamigonian, *Africanos livres: A abolição do tráfico de escravos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2017); for focus on those at the penitentiary, Martine Jean, *Policing Freedom: Illegal Enslavement, Labor, and Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023). On Eusébio's crime concerns, see Sidney Chalhoub, *Visões da liberdade: uma história das últimas décadas da escravidão na Corte* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2011 [1990]), 232–248.

[71] Paulo Cruz Terra, "Câmaras municipais no Império: As posturas municipais do Rio de Janeiro sobre o trabalho (1830–1838)," in *Os poderes municipais e a cidade: Império e República*, ed. Paulo Cruz Terra, Marcelo de Souza Magalhães, and Martha Abreu (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad, 2019), 157–172.

[72] For examples of collection of this tax, see AN, GIFI-1B-143. The law remained in place until 1847. In 1858, the Bahian government instituted a similar law charging $500 to businesses with more than one foreign caixeiro. Budget law no. 60 (20 Oct.), *CLIB* (1838), vol. 1, 60–61; O *Universal*, no. 138 (29 Oct. 1838); Paulino José Soares de Sousa, *Estudos práticos sobre a administração das províncias no Brasil*, vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, 1865), 299.

[73] *JC*, no. 242 (7 Nov. 1836); *O Observador*, no. 7 (9 June 1836); NAk, F.O. 13/173, ff. 116–159, ff. 337–338 contains five reports by British minister in Rio Robert Hesketh on

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surrender his Australia-bound German colonists in 1838, which he declined. But when his passengers obtained weapons from Brazilian agents and threatened mutiny, he accepted a lower offer. Days later, the SPC gleefully advertised 226 German colonos for hire, including "couples with families" and many "field hands by profession."[74] Brazilian agents also beguiled competitors in mainland Europe's busy ports. One Brazilian ship owner in Hamburg even seized a contract intended for an Australian colonization company in 1836.[75]

The growing autonomy with which the SPC abetted or directly carried out such actions allowed it to adapt to an overwhelming challenge when Portuguese authorities decried a "traffic in the slavery of whites" after deputy Manuel da Silva Passos read Calmon's memória.[76] Earlier in 1835 civil governors in the Azores had received orders to hinder the exit of agrarian laborers from the islands. Now, in response to an accelerating colono trade, Queen Maria II herself issued an ordinance to counter "speculators and even Foreign Companies employed in promoting emigration from the Azores," ordering the provincial prefect to enforce passport controls and disseminate news about "the misfortunes that emigration holds in store" as means to stem the traffic. Local newspapers followed through, telling of abused Azorean women and of a "Colonization Society" cramming islanders in a "warehouse like that of the blacks, to later sell them." As newspapers amplified these stories, the Portuguese Crown cited the 1758 ordinance that originally instituted

vessels headed to South Australia, New South Wales, or New Zealand calling port in Rio for various emergencies. At least 25 of 207 foreign vessels leaving Rio in 1839 were bound to British colonies.

[74] NAk, F.O. 13/163, ff. 73–89, 95; F.O. 13/173, ff. 36–53; Admiralty Records (ADM), 101/60/3; *DRJ*, no. 3 (4 Dec. 1837); *The Sydney Gazette & New South Wales Advertiser*, no. 4036 (26 June 1838).

[75] *Colonial Times* (Hobart) (24 Jan. 1837).

[76] Fernanda Paula Sousa Maia, "O papel dos Açores na construção do discurso parlamentar oitocentista sobre a emigração," in *Um passaporte para à terra prometida*, ed. Fernando de Sousa, Ismênia Martins, Susana Serpa Silva et al. (Porto: Cepese, 2011), 193–207; Marcus de Carvalho, "O 'tráfico de escravatura branca' para Pernambuco no ocaso do tráfico de escravos," *RIHGB* 149, no. 358 (1988): 22–51; Jorge Alves, "Emigração portuguesa: O exemplo do Porto nos meados do século XIX," *História: Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto* 9 (1989): 267–289. Portuguese parliamentarians repurposed rather than invented the trope of a "white slavery," which was already in use in Portugal in the 1820s to describe Irish Catholics subject to Anglican elites and military recruitment in the Azores. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 60, 149 (11 Mar., 28 June 1825); Anonymous, *Supplemento à carta intitulada o Verdadeiro Imparcial dos Successos da Ilha Terceira* (Lisbon: Typografia Maigrense, 1822).

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passports in Portuguese insular territories to justify a new prohibition forbidding young men eligible for military service from leaving.[77]

The SPC had given rise to a furtive colono trade as much as to poignant and desperate reactions by Portuguese officials at different levels of government. Azorean district authorities improvised more obstructionist measures, demanding lower passenger ratios, examining water rations, withholding passports from emigrants conscripted for Brazilian military service, and charging bail until colonos disembarked at their final destinations.[78] Lisbon officials pursued more subtle tactics. Foreign minister Sá da Bandeira, for instance, blocked Brazil's vice-consular appointments at Terceira and Graciosa on the grounds that the appointees promoted emigration against the islanders' best interest. Because the new Portuguese constitution of 1838 adopted a more dissuasive approach that did not infringe on subjects' right of exit, Portugal's foreign ministry shifted to an intimidation campaign. Portuguese officials warned Brazilian authorities of the embarkation of "suspect persons" among colonos, which appeared to confirm Brazilian ministers' concerns that escalating arrivals would allow "suspect people into the country," including counterfeiters who could exacerbate currency problems.[79] In 1839, Portuguese authorities intensified their efforts with new ports and customs regulations explicitly designed to curtail colono recruiters. Efforts to counteract this deterrence campaign proved fruitless. As Menezes reported from Lisbon, no newspapers wished to publish his ripostes to senators speaking against Azorean emigration to Brazil.[80]

These difficulties notwithstanding, ship captains, vice-consuls, and colonization agents resorted to illegal subterfuges to work around

[77] AHI-RCB-Lisbon, 251/2/14, Sousa Corrêa to Alves Branco (20 Apr. 1836); AHI-MDB-Lisbon, 251/2/15, Sousa Corrêa to Alves Branco; *O Angrense*, no. 4 (15 Oct. 1836); Portaria (16 May 1836) (17 June 1836), *Collecção de Leis e outros documentos officiaes* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1836), 159–160, 167–168; Alvará (4 July 1758), in Antonio Delgado da Silva, *Collecção da legislação portugueza desde a última compilação das ordenações: Legislação de 1750 a 1762* (Lisbon: Typografia Maigrense, 1830), 626–627; Decree (25 Nov. 1836), *Coleção de Leis e outros documentos oficiais* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1930), 101–102.

[78] AHI-MDB-Lisbon, 251/2/14, Sousa Corrêa to Foreign minister Borges (20 Aug. 1836).

[79] ATT, Reino-mç. 2039-I, Antonio Xavier Coelho, Theotônio Joaquim da Costa, et al. (1 Aug. 1838); Title III, art. 12, *Constituição política da Monarchia Portugueza* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1838), 5; AN, Justiça- IJ^{6}174, Eusébio to Foreign minister Gustavo Adolfo de Aguilar Pantoja (25 Jan. 1837); IJ^{1}996, Maciel to Vasconcelos (1 Oct. 1838).

[80] AHI-RCB-Lisbon, 251/2/14, Sousa Corrêa to Foreign minister Limpo de Abreu (3 Dec. 1836); MDB-Lisboa, 213/4/02, consul general Macedo to Pantoja (4 Apr. 1837); Menezes to Maciel (24 Dec. 1838, 25 Feb. 1839, 8 Mar. 23 Oct. 1839); Menezes to Foreign minister Cândido Baptista de Oliveira (6 Nov. 1839).

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Portuguese obstruction and continue to supply the demand for colonos generated by the SPC. As soon as the Queen's first ordinances took effect, colono vessels eluded inspection by real or feigned island-hopping. Already in late 1836, the Portuguese consul in Bahia reported this ploy when the *Tarujo e Filhos* arrived in Salvador with 113 colonos from Graciosa. Only a few of these colonos had passports, but the real problem was that the passports were for other Azorean islands, not Brazil.[81] Terceira's General Administrator openly complained that colono carriers with overcrowded ships recurred to "the stratagem of reporting other islands as their layover or destination, so they can board people and take them to their originally intended destination." At first, local officials understood this as a tactic to avoid paying passport stamp duties, since vessels could defer payment until their last stop in the archipelago. But then vessels and colonos also began to forego passport requests altogether by engaging in covert recruitment and boarding practices. During 1837 and 1838, one ship after another took on all sorts of colonos without passports.[82] In São Miguel, district authorities responded by enforcing passport mandates and boarding soldiers as escorts when ships claimed a close-by island as destination. Officials instituted more aggressive inspections to ensure that vessels possessed an infirmary and sufficient food and water for their voyage, had complied with tax provisions, checked passports for passengers going to Brazil for personal reasons, abided by a 24-hour prior boarding requirement, and departed on schedule.[83] And yet, despite these forceful measures and local pressure on the Crown to enact "more positive laws" to curb emigration, ministers in Lisbon learned that "new agents of the Brazilian Colonization Company" had "spread around these islands." Moreover, they had co-opted

[81] ARAH, BPAAH-GC/PREF/09/Lv.02, Correspondência expedida pela Secretaria d'Estado dos Negócios do Reino a Administração Geral em Angra.

[82] ARSM, Governo Civil do Distrito de Ponta Delgada-Secretaria 84 (ACD/GCPDL/SEC/010-005/0001), interim administrator general of Ponta Delgada district João Rodrigues Paiva to Praia Grande administrative assistant (14 Jan. 1837), to ajudante do mar of the city (7 July 1837); 85 (ACD/GCPDL/SEC/010-005/0002), administrator general José Joaquim de Medeiros to customs director Rodrigues Paiva (28 Sept. 1838); interim administrator general Nicoláo Anastácio de Bittencourt to Brazil's vice-consul (2 Nov. 1838); ATT, Reino-mç. 2039-I, general district administrator of Angra do Heroísmo to visconde de Bruges (12 Nov. 1837); Bruges to Kingdom minister António Fernandes Coelho (10 May 1838).

[83] ARSM, Conselho do Distrito-Actas 86 (ACD/GCPDL/CD/001/0003), 6 Aug., 10 Oct., 156v–157r, 163vr; ATT, Reino-mç. 2039-I, Bruges to Fernandes Coelho (10 May 1838).

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petty officials and important local merchants networks into the colono trade.[84]

Clandestine colono voyages continued to climb to alarming levels as Portuguese and Brazilian vessels kept arriving in Salvador and Rio with undocumented colonos. Brigantine *Senador Vergueiro* traveled from Faial to Terceira, where it requested leave for Lisbon but instead turned toward Tenerife and then Rio, where it arrived with 87 colonos. The *Recuperador* followed, landing 105 colonos in Recife, and the Brazilian brig *Pedro Segundo* delivered 118 colonos in Salvador.[85] These arrivals flagged local connivance in the Azores in the eyes of the Kingdom minister, who believed it was "impossible that the embarkation of such a high number of people occurred ... without the knowledge of pertinent authorities." If Portuguese statesmen had already recognized the colono trade as a speculative and illegal traffic, they now had to reckon with the fact that their best efforts to curtail emigration catalyzed a massive and unstoppable clandestine migration.[86] While not directly leading the entirety of this migrant flow, the Brazilian colonization companies had goaded this traffic into existence, showing themselves to be remarkably astute adversaries to Portuguese authorities desperate to stem exits.

The SPC fostered this blooming colono trade but did not profit from all voyages. Rather, from early 1837, it had to weather a global financial panic that reverberated in Rio, where credit practices such as consignation and parceled payments had only recently taken hold thanks to resident English firms.[87] The SPC's credit mechanisms were particularly

[84] ATT, Reino-mç. 2039-I, secretary general at Angra Francisco de Lemos Álvares to Bruges (19 July 1838).

[85] ATT, Reino-mç. 2039-I, Portuguese Foreign minister to Kingdom minister (20 Sept. 1838). The *Senador Vergueiro* was an American brig previously known as *Carmelia* until purchased by the firm Faro Vergueiro & Co. in March 1838. Portuguese brigantine *Dous Amigos* arrived from Lisbon with 122 colonos at the same time as the *Senador Vergueiro*, which suggests that the colono trade remained strong. The *Senador Vergueiro* next sailed to Montevideo with a shipment of manioc flour and remained in the Santos-Montevideo circuit for 1839. *JC*, nos. 61, 68, 251, 256, 45 (16, 24 Mar., 9, 15 Nov. 1838, 23 Feb. 1839).

[86] AHI-MDB-Lisbon, 251/2/15, Sousa Corrêa to Alves Branco (26 Jan., 6 Mar. 1836); AN, Justiça-IJ[1]996, Maciel to Justice minister Vasconcelos (22 Oct. 1838). On "clandestine" emigration, see Joaquim da Costa Leite, "Portugal and Emigration: 1855–1914" (PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1994), 150–232; Miriam Halpern Pereira, *A política portuguesa de emigração (1850–1930)* (Bauru: EDUSC, 2002).

[87] Jessica Lepler, *The Many Panics of 1837: People, Politics, and the Creation of a Transatlantic Financial Crisis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Márcia N. Kuinochi, "Crédito e privilégios de comerciantes estrangeiros no Rio de Janeiro na

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vulnerable both because of their timing and their nature as depreciable scrip. As the crisis of 1837 began to brew, secretary Bivar announced the arrival of the SPC's "neatly printed" *apólices* (bonds) from London. Because these were transferable, holders could resell them to third parties and even use them as tender given the dearth of circulating currency. Indeed, unidentified subscribers resold company shares throughout the Court as early as August 1836, when a business on Direita street announced two SPC shares for sale, while a nearby paper store put out a call to buy several on the same day. A few months later, a bookseller around the corner offered "a reasonable price" to anyone selling SPC shares. Even during the 1837 crisis, a business bureau on São Pedro street announced such shares for sale, going as far as guaranteeing dividends.

Yet, by 1839, SPC shares had depreciated to 25$000, a fourth of their original value. Sweeping personnel changes compounded the dwindling value of the company to the point that respectable members refused to take up elected posts. Shipyard owner Antônio Lage gracefully turned down the invitation to serve as SPC treasurer after shareholders elected him in 1837.[88] Later that year, the company president, Araújo Lima, took leave of his position when regent Feijó succumbed to political pressures and handpicked him as his successor. Holanda Cavalcanti, a founding board member, replaced fellow Pernambucan Araújo Lima as SPC president, bringing with him a similar level of prestige but with some important differences: he was a rising Liberal who had succeeded José Bonifácio as grandmaster of the Grande Oriente do Brasil and who was runner-up in the 1838 elections for regent, which he lost to Araújo Lima. Nevertheless, like his contender, Holanda Cavalcanti also enjoyed a swift promotion, as he soon won a lifetime Senate appointment. The SPC itself had a sorrier fate as it failed to sign up enough colonos in 1837–1838 to make ends meet, and dwindling contract commissions and interest on colono debts magnified its budgetary deficit despite contracting out more than half of its colonos (Table 3.2).

In its first year and a half, the SPC had used 10 times the value of its start-up capital, which yielded insufficient returns (15 contos). Bivar recommended curtailing colono flight and mortality to cut costs as well as

finalização do tráfico de escravos, na década 1840," *História e Economia* 6, no. 1 (2010): 27–50.

[88] *JC*, nos. 191, 220, 272 (30 Aug., 10 Oct. 1836, 7 Dec. 1837); *DRJ*, nos. 7, 4, 21 (20 Oct. 1836, 5 May, 26 July 1837); *O Universal*, no. n/a (18 Jan. 1839).

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TABLE 3.2 *Status of colonos inscribed by the SPC, April 1838*

Status	#
Exited with their dues paid for by a third party	1,074
Working per diem ("a jornal")	737
Self-employed, paying their dues in installments	114
Employed by a guarantor, paying dues in installments	63
In the hospital	15
In Jail	1
Fled	22
Currently at the Deposit & available for hire	59
Eliminated from the roster for unspecified reasons	3
Died in the Deposit	24
Total	2,088

AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}160, SPC report by secretary Bivar (19 Apr. 1838); Vasconcelos, *Relatório* (1838), annex no. 7. Of the 1,074 colonos hired, 879 did so by contract.

increasing company capital by debenture, but he resigned shortly after Holanda Cavalcanti arrived and was replaced by German engineer Julius Friedrich Koeler. A short time later, Holanda Cavalcanti also abandoned his post.[89] By 1839, the SPC was broke. An audit commission headed by Francisco Jê Acaiaba de Montezuma reported on the SPC's "lack of method" and particularly on the absence of treasury records and shareholder rosters. The 52 accounting books that the SPC did possess at least contradicted the "false and calumnious assertions" propagandized by "the foes of free colonization." Apparently, colonos had not suffered: the SPC had provided them with 47,000 food rations at a cost of 16:450$726 (more than the 15 contos in returns mentioned above) and spent 7:567$060 on other goods. In addition, it had invested in its hostel, especially in its sleeping quarters. Even though its active debt remained equivalent to its start-up capital of 75 contos, and a total of 969 colonos still owed 78.5 contos, only 70 percent of that debt was seen as recoverable.

Despite an operational deficit of almost 20 contos and a limited capacity to recoup its debts, the SPC could still come afloat by reducing expenses. Thus the commission recommended that the SPC carry on, believing that "if on this day its balance offers no profits, we should

[89] AN, IA^{6}160-SPC report by Bivar (19 Apr. 1838), SPC report by president Holanda Cavalcanti (20 May 1838); *O Echo do Rio*, no. 47 (31 Jan. 1844), which also mentioned that colonos paid 400 réis per day for their stay at the hostel while the Sociedade accrued 9 percent in dividends.

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expect them soon."[90] Still, the SPC began to fold soon after. It entrusted the 61 colonos at Lapa depot to Henrique Laemmert, an important German publisher in Rio who would see to their pay as they worked as a construction crew for the provincial government's Public Works department. In April 1840, provincial vice-president and SPC shareholder visconde de Baependi stepped in for Laemmert and formalized the province's tutelage over the colonos, placing them under sergeant Koeler's direction in the construction works for the Estrela road linking Rio to Minas, and taking over the SPC's accounts to administer expenses.[91] Thereafter, references to the SPC tapered off.

The SPC closed down, but both of its presidents only saw their political capital increase in the decades ahead. Similarly, the colono trade carried on, giving continuity to shady overlaps between migrant and slave trafficking until the end of the latter in 1850. The SPC's apparent failure could not erase the fact that many had benefited from its services by obtaining colonos for special tasks or crafts. Many more had profited from the example, enlightening themselves by identifying the necessary elements and workings of a colonization company while at the same time deepening their respect and support for the likes of Araújo Lima and even secretary Bivar for their selfless sacrifices, even if in the end theirs was a public service expected to render dividends.

* * *

Having attained important gains for their top principals, the first Brazilian colonization companies challenged normative expectations regarding how – and for whom – a company should have worked. They also interrogated whether innovations such as graduated voting could in practice shield business associations from unilateral decisions by management or the risks inherent to a nascent niche market such as the colono trade. Still, these

[90] "Relatório apresentado à Assembléa Geral dos Accionistas da SPC … pela commissão encarregada do exame das contas da mesma sociedade até o dia 31 de março de 1838" (24 Jan. 1839) in *O Parlamentar*, no. 130 (30 Jan. 1839). *O Universal*, no. 18 (13 Feb. 1839) offered a short summary of the report. Montezuma was long familiar with colonization affairs. For more, see 1 June, *ACD* (1832), vol. 1, 67; Sebastião de Castro Júnior, "Francisco Montezuma e os dilemas da mestiçagem e da cidadania na construção do Império do Brasil (c.1820–c.1834)," (MA thesis, UFF, 2014), 188–198.

[91] APERJ-PP, Diretoria da Fazenda-1096, ff. 49v–51r, Contract among the SPC, Laemmert and Rio's provincial government (1 Apr., 18 May 1840), 53r–54v; Secretaria-0974, "Regulamento para a execução de artigos do contrato entre o gov. provincial e a promotoria de colonização do Rio de Janeiro."

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companies provided a sobering learning experience and haunted lawmakers' discussions for years. Shortly before the 1840 Majority Coup that put Pedro II on the throne, senators heard multiple requests by private companies that brought prior disappointments to the fore. One senator claimed that "shareholders lost their investment" in the CCB because "the company did not have the system it required." Holanda Cavalcanti explained that "everyone who joined these associations came out losing" because administrators "took property that was not theirs to take and got away with it." "And still," he thundered, "we dare speak of associations!"[92]

Yet, casual criticism aside, the most poignant legacy of these early colonization companies was their complex interaction with slave trafficking, especially considering how their profit motivation fundamentally unsettles traditional characterizations of colonization as a labor replacement mechanism. To begin with, the Azorean colono trade emerged on the coattails of "African colonization" schemes that peaked in 1834 and died down after 1837, whereby traffickers reexported enslaved men and women from Montevideo to Rio as "African colonos." Some as far north as Bahia championed this gimmick in a bid to revive a proposal harkening back to Pedro I's reign.[93] But, in the main, this remained a rare activity if compared to a broader set of trafficking ploys, including the recourse to the colono trade, both formal and clandestine, as cover for illegal slave trading.

The conceit voiced by Calmon and others that enslaved workers would be substituted with free hands at a time when slave trafficking hit record highs obscures the fact that the slave trade ban of 1831 barely affected the colono trade. The colono trade was in fact far more informed by political contingencies and, if anything, by the Portuguese law prohibiting slave trafficking in 1836, which increased Portuguese vigilance over speculators. A good example is that of Faial native João Severino de Avelar. Tagged as "one of the authors . . . of this infamous [colono] traffic" by an exasperated Kingdom minister in 1839, Avelar was later apprehended off the African coast for slave contraband and spent the next 17 years building a furtive trafficking ring linking Brazilian, Angolan, and Cuban shores. His range sporadically included the Azores and his methods at times relied on colono voyages to elude surveillance. Unclear tonnage, inconsistent vessel names, and missing captain names pose obstacles to define the correspondence between slave-trading and colono-trading vessels, but evidence dispersed

[92] 13 May, *AS* (1840), vol. 2, 158–163.
[93] Borucki, "The 'African Colonists'"; "Colonos africanos," *O Censor*, no. 3 (Nov. 1837): 176–185.

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across newspapers, government records, and at least one court case offer sparse examples of traffickers who also engaged in colono voyages.[94]

The complex relationship between colonization and slave trafficking went beyond the voyages themselves. Colonization advocates obfuscated the realities of the colono trade and its many functions by celebrating colonos as slave substitutes. At the same time, however, they racialized occupations in the belief that certain colonos excelled at specific forms of labor. Holanda Cavalcanti, for instance, celebrated colono-run industrial establishments such as the Italian glass factory in Rio and blithely described the hundred or so Azorean colonos employed in his household as "the most hard-working, tame, and of the best character."[95] Because of their reputation as skilled seafarers and fishermen, Azoreans ostensibly fit in Calmon's plans to enhance Salvador's nascent industries – including a soap factory that would benefit from Azoreans' reputed skills at whale-hunting – and port warehouses with a "maritime population" that revived local fisheries and replaced dried meat imports from "faraway provinces" to feed the enslaved.[96] Notably, at the height of the colono trade, most Azoreans avoided agricultural work. Of at least 3,819 *documented* entries into Rio from 1828 to 1842, only 12 perent claimed rural work while 41 percent reported urban sector occupations (Table 3.3).[97]

[94] ATT, mç. 1489, Fernandes Coelho to Bruges (9 Apr. 1839); *JC*, nos. 38, 27 (15 Feb. 1839, 30 Jan. 1840); Alencastro, "Imigrantes portugueses," 37. As early as 1831, the British consul in Maranhão suspected Avelar of trafficking between São Luís and Cape Verde. William Hesketh to chargé d'affaires in Rio Arthur Aston (29 Nov. 1831), in *Correspondence with Foreign Powers relating to the Slave Trade (Class B.1832)* (London: William Clowes, 1833), 52–53; AN, Judiciário-Tribunal da Relação, 84.0. ACI.09555, João Domingos v. Manoel Ignácio Correia (1839); for two colono runs by Correia, see *JC*, no. 35 (12 Feb. 1839); *Diário de Pernambuco*, no. 8 (12 Jan. 1842). On two ships engaged in both trades (barque *Maria Carlota* and brig *Dois Amigos*), see Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Dos sertões ao Atlântico: tráfico ilegal de escravos e comércio lícito em Angola, 1830–1860* (Luanda: Kilombelombe, 2012), 216.

[95] 21 June, 16 Sept., *AS* (1839), vol. 2, 36–37; vol. 4, 73–74. Of the eight merchants who hired the 50 Genoese working in this factory, three were SPC members. *JC*, nos. 270, 23, 233, 235, 230 (1 Dec. 1838, 28 Jan., 3, 5 Oct. 1839, 31 Aug. 1843); *DRJ*, no. 219 (30 Sept. 1839).

[96] Calmon, "Sobre os damnos causados à agricultura, e ao commércio, pela desregrada administração dos trapiches, e prensas"; "Discurso," *JSACIB*, no. 36 (Aug. 1835): 767–786; no. 2 (Feb. 1836): 3–35; [Edward] Boid, *Description of the Azores, or Western Islands, from Personal Observation* (London: Bull & Churton, 1834), 36, 266–270; "Sobre a agricultura, e indústria nos Estados Unidos" *AIN*, no. 173 (1837): 1, 195; Wellington Castellucci, "Baleias e império: os Estados Unidos e a expansão baleeira nos mares do Atlântico sul (1761–1844)," *Revista de História* 180 (2021).

[97] Nielson Rosa Bezerra, "Escravidão e navegação fluvial: Identidades africanas na cidade do Rio de Janeiro e seus arredores," *Revista do AGCRJ* 9 (2015): 91–103.

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TABLE 3.3 *Self-reported professions of Azorean migrants in Rio de Janeiro, c. 1828–1842*

Professional Category	Tally
Commerce (employed by another)	503
Artisanal trades and manufactures	413
Agriculture	392
Administrators	131
Domestic servants	112
"Workers"	104
Road workers	99
Commerce (self-employed or peddlers)	95
Cattle Driving	67
Seafaring Trades	29
Lettered Trades	27
Cooks, bread-makers, etc.	19
Other trades	12
Religious personnel	6
Medical professions	3
Unidentified or unemployed	1,807
Total	3,819

Based on a dataset elaborated from the AN-*Movimentação dos portugueses* database. I have consolidated diverse professions into more comprehensive categories.

As the fastest growing segment of Rio's population at the time, Portuguese migrants worked as craftsmen, *falueiros* (small-craft local sailors), caixeiros, and domestic servants in response to rising demand, and they often did so side by side with *libertos* and enslaved workers. This means that, as the leading colonos of this emergent trade, they were not really the slave substitutes trumpeted by some contemporaries.

Besides uplifting political careers and confounding easy distinctions between the slave and colono trades, the first homegrown colonization companies left another legacy in the form of a knock-on effect on new colonization undertakings. Their example roused a new colonization impulse even in Portugal. As they launched, Portuguese minister Sá da Bandeira began plans for Asseiceira, a colony close to Benguela to be populated with Azoreans. In 1838, Queen Maria II decreed that destitute Portuguese migrants in Brazil or Montevideo would receive free passage to Angola but signaled the need for them to clear any debts with the SPC, therefore revealing the nature of such initiative as a direct response to the Brazilian companies' efforts. And many other schemes followed this first

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mirror reaction to the SPC's colono trade. After the definitive suppression of the Portuguese slave trade in 1839, a new colonization company in Mozambique organized a shipment of degredados from Portugal. Some years later, a Portuguese official offered plans to populate Cape Verde with Azoreans and rivers Dande and Kwanza near Loanda with "inter-tropical colonos" from the Portuguese-controlled port of Goa.[98]

In the Brazilian Empire itself a coterie of new colonization enterprises followed in the SPC's and CCB's footsteps. In the northernmost province of Pará, a Brazilian merchant with London connections proposed a colonization society to convey Azoreans to an island he owned across from the port city of Belém. Then came proposals for a colonization company for the "Goyanna Brasileira" in 1836, a colonization company for Ceará in 1838 proposed by Joaquim José de Sequeira (see Chapter 2), a mining contract with colonization stipulations in 1838, an 1839 London-based colonization company for São Paulo, and a partnership headed by Antônio Carlos de Andrada (José Bonifácio's brother) for "an agricultural and industrial colony" also in São Paulo in 1840.[99]

A company organized in Santos by Nicolau Vergueiro's son surpassed all such proposals both in prestige and in its importance for later events.

[98] Portaria (17 Mar. 1836), *Collecção de Leis e outros documentos officiaes* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1836), 53; *O Sete d'Abril*, no. 677, 695 (29 Jan., 20 Feb. 1839); AHI-MDB-Lisbon, 213/4/02, Menezes to Maciel (9 Nov. 1838); Mário António Fernandes de Oliveira, *Alguns aspectos da administração de Angola em época de reformas (1834–1851)* (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1981), 104–120, 233–234; Decree (14 May 1838), Portaria (2 June 1838), Portaria (13 July 1838), *Boletim do Conselho Ultramarino, 1834–1850* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1867), 41–45, 49–51; José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sobre a statística das possessões portuguezas na África occidental e oriental; na Asia occidental; na China, e na Oceania* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1844–1862), vol. 2, 74; vol. 3, 50.

[99] AHI-RCB-Lisbon, 251/2/14, Dandim [also spelled Cardim, Dandim, and Darim] to the Brazilian Government (26 Mar. 1836); Sousa Corrêa to Foreign minister Borges (11 June, 4 Aug. 1836); *Projecto dos estatutos para a Companhia de Colonisação da Goyanna Brasileira offerecido aos amantes da prosperidade do Império* (Lisbon: Typ. de Carlos José da Silva e Comp., 1836), cited in *ABN* 9, no. 2 (1881–1882): 2152; Joaquim José de Sequeira, *Plano do estabelecimento para as sociedades de colonização, filantropia &c. na provincia do Ceará* (Ceará: Typographia Constitucional, 1838); Francisco de Paula de Almeida e Albuquerque, *Relatório do Império* (1839), 31; *AIN* 8 (1840): 353–357; *Jornal dos Debates*, no. 75 (21 July 1838); 13, 15 July, *AS* (1839), vol. 2, 189–191, 201–203; AHI-MDB-London, 216/2/2, Brazil's minister to Foreign minister Lopes Gama (3 Dec. 1839); *Relatório do Império* (1840), 35–37. London businessmen Fomm and Whitaker hoped to import 10,000 young field hands from Scotland, Ireland, England, and the German territories over five years.

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In early 1836, Göttingen alumnus Luiz Vergueiro assembled a highly select group willing to pay 800$ per share. In association with Miller & Co. of Rio, and one George Benjamin, captain of brigantine *Créole*, Luiz Vergueiro summoned kith and kin to his company, including his brother's father-in-law, Bernardo José Pinto Gavião (whose own son would pursue colonization contracts with the imperial government in the 1870s); Luiz's father-in-law, João Silva Machado, future barão de Antonina (see Chapter 6); and ex-provincial president, cousin and brother-in-law Francisco Antonio de Sousa Queirós. Antonio and Joaquim da Silva Prado, scions of a Paulista dynasty who would organize subsequent Italian migrations in the 1880s, also joined, as did São Paulo Law School director José da Costa Carvalho, founder of the first provincial newspaper, *O Farol*, regent in the Triple Permanent Regency (1831–1835) and future marquês de Monte Alegre.[100]

This Santos colonization company had its own ripple effects. Gavião for instance, soon became provincial president and purchased 10 shares on the province's behalf while organizing a separate colono drive for the province itself. He hired Johann Bloêm for the task, the same major who had directed the old São João de Ipanema iron foundry as well as improvement works in Pernambuco employing German colonos. The 170 workers brought from Bremen to build the São Paulo-Cubatão road for muleteer caravans to access the port at Santos confirmed the company's influence on further schemes. Most important, however, is that the Santos company represented the Vergueiros' first foray into colonization. More than a decade later, the family rose to become the leading colono purveyor in the province of São Paulo and established an innovative sharecropping (*parceria*) system in its Ibicaba plantation that garnered such renown to the point that historians have taken such efforts as self-evident proof that São Paulo was ground zero in the development of colonization. But the fact that the Santos company remained a replica of the SPC and CCB – not least because the

[100] *JC*, no. 29 (8 Feb. 1836); Luiz Gonzaga da Silva Leme, *Genealogia paulistana*, vol. 2 (São Paulo: Duprat & Comp., 1904), 196–201; Darrell Levi, *The Prados of São Paulo, Brazil: An Elite Family and Social Change, 1840–1930* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987); Zélia M. de Mello, *Metamorfoses da riqueza: São Paulo, 1845–1895* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1985), 142–150; AN, GIFI 4B-13, vol. 2, 1v–3v, Contract between the imperial government and Bernardo Gavião Peixoto (19, 29 Nov. 1870); Luiz Gonçalves Borges, "Senhor de homens, de terras e de animais: A trajetória política e econômica de João da Silva Machado (província de São Paulo, 1800–1853)" (PhD diss., UFPR, 2014).

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Vergueiro family firm held shares in the former –resets the historical timeline and recenters Rio and Bahia as the proper loci of colonization's beginnings.[101]

The first Brazilian colonization companies' and the avatars in their wake propped up the business of colonization with their migrant depots, registries, and clandestine migration stratagems. They also forced the imperial government's hand, turning colonization into a mainstay in the Empire ministry's annual reports and instigating the creation of a new ministerial section to oversee the "admission, settlement and naturalization of foreigners." Impelled by their energy and his own experience with them, regent Araújo Lima drafted a bill to "attract and establish foreign colonies in Brazil," whose failure stirred other lawmakers to pen their own. In 1838, deputy Manuel Maria do Amaral advanced one bill for a massive government-run colonization system funded by government debt bonds whose value almost matched the Empire ministry's budget. Two years later, deputy Bernardo de Souza Franco put forth another bill substituting bonds with land sales and including colonization companies as essential beneficiaries. While neither bill moved forward, both set the stage for land law debates from 1843 on.[102] In final sum, then, the SPC, CCB, and their many offshoots jumpstarted a niche market that comfortably coexisted with and sometimes overlapped with slave trafficking. Concurrently, they showed their worth as government partners, policy-making engines, and, crucially, private collectivities that bolstered personal finances and political trajectories. As such, they became essential reference points for subsequent generations, crowning colonization as a viable endeavor and inaugurating companies as imperfect but malleable vehicles of political agency and personal profit.

[101] Bernardo Gavião Peixoto, *Discurso do presidente da província SP* (1838), 16–18. Provincial worker rolls tally about 170 colonos in 1838, although other lists mention 270 including women. APESP, Manuscritos-Directoria de Obras Públicas 5140. On Recife's colonos, see Guilherme Auler, *A companhia de operários, 1839–1843: Subsídios para o estudo da emigração germânica no Brasil* (Recife: Arquivo Público Estadual, 1959); Marcelo MacCord, "Dois mestres de ofício alemães no Recife oitocentista: mundo de trabalho artesanal e sociabilidades cotidianas," *Almanack* 25 (2020).

[102] AN, Interior-IJJ[4]8, 34r–35v, 41v–44v, 46r–48v; *O Parlamentar*, no. 11 (19 Aug. 1837); *Jornal dos Debates*, no. 74 (5 July 1838); *DRJ*, no. 118 (25 May 1840). See also Empire ministry reports from 1833 to 1841.

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4

Palatial Diplomacy

Colonization at the Hand of the Emperor's Cabal

In 1840, a group headed by the Andrada brothers outmaneuvered the conservatives in power since the 1837 Regresso. They convinced young prince Pedro de Alcântara to claim the Crown earlier than his eighteenth birthday and against constitutional mandate. The fourteen-year-old's gleaming acceptance tipped the scales of power to their favor. But what followed was a relentless partisan see-sawing for the rest of the decade. Less than a year after the *golpe da maioridade* (Majority coup) of 1840, liberals were replaced by a conservative cabinet with its own election tricks in store, which prompted liberal revolts in 1842 headed by the Vergueiros in São Paulo and Teófilo Ottoni in Minas Gerais. Liberals only returned to power after a general amnesty in 1844, which inaugurated a so-called liberal quinquennium (1844–1848) before the pendulum swung back to the conservatives. Hardening monikers attested to the mutual skewering that marked the decade: liberals became *luzias*, after Santa Luzia, the famed site of their defeat in 1842, and conservatives came to be known as *saquaremas*, in reference to a sugar town east of the Court where reactionaries battled attempts by one of their foes, Aureliano de Souza Oliveira Coutinho, to steal the elections of 1844.[1]

Despite searing partisan infighting, colonization not only flourished in the decade following Pedro II's rise but even transformed itself into a hallmark of the imperial state. The new emperor himself was partly

[1] Jeffrey Needell, *The Party of Order: The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831–1871* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 80–116; Erik Hörner, *Até os limites da política: A "Revolução Liberal" de 1842 em São Paulo e Minas Gerais* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2014), 73–114, 305–326.

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responsible for colonization's ascendancy. His presence rekindled courtly dynamics important to colonization enterprises and strengthened state-led initiatives to oversee such pursuits. Indeed, requests for special privileges and subsidies to import foreign settlers and start new colonies surged with the return of monarchical patronage. Yet, more than the emperor himself, it was a loyal posse of palatial figures who worked in his shadow that plied those proposals into the imperial and diplomatic policies to support a new reason of state. Seeing how directed migrations and planned settlements spurred the economy, mollified pressures to end the slave trade, and personally benefited those involved, palace insiders known as *áulicos* ramped up governmental involvement in the business of colonization. Taken together, these áulicos render moot Holanda Cavalcanti's famous dictum that "there is nothing more saquarema than a luzia in power." Even if áulicos identified with factions or parties, their allegiance to the emperor's moderating power remained their primal compass.

These palatial creatures blurred the lines between conservative and liberal tenets by welcoming schemes geared to produce fiscal revenues *and* personal gains, most of which were led by private enterprises under their regulatory oversight. Three individuals in particular defined this emergent market in private colonization and the regulatory tools to oversee it: Pedro de Araújo Lima, by then ennobled as visconde de Olinda; Aureliano de Souza Oliveira Coutinho; and Miguel Calmon, by then visconde de Abrantes. In their hands, colonization became a policy tool to strengthen imperial authority, which they understood as tied to Pedro II in profound and personal ways. Together, the three cut an odd group, as each possessed singular political sympathies, kinship networks, and distinct regional alliances. But a deeply seated commitment to the emperor, and an outstanding concern with colonization, united them over their differences.

This chapter details how these palace insiders defined colonization above and beyond factional clashes as quintessential to the most pressing policy pursuits of the early Second Reign (1840–1889). In doing so, they reprised regulatory measures and diplomatic overtures promoting private colonization schemes under enhanced government purview and to the benefit of Brazilian geopolitical aims. The chapter first follows Araújo Lima's tenure in the reactivated Conselho de Estado as he championed procedural and administrative regulation over governmental giveaways to colonization cronies. Araújo Lima recognized the limitations of government patronage and paved the way for a consequential land bill in 1843 meant to streamline colonization procedures among other things.

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As the bill stalled in the Senate, the chapter continues, Aureliano and other áulicos like the emperor's own valet, Paulo Barbosa, took it upon themselves to furnish a model colony in the emperor's name. The chapter closes by examining how these efforts strengthened Miguel Calmon's diplomatic mission to Europe on the heels of the Aberdeen Act crisis (1844–1846). Tasked with pressuring Britain to accept treaty renewal terms favorable to Brazil, Calmon did not succeed in his first remit. But then, for the most important segment of his mission, he used colonization as a tantalizing bargaining chip to court Prussia as a potential commercial partner.

Ultimately, by nestling itself in áulicos' visions, colonization acquired prominence in diplomatic talks, land law debates, and piecemeal efforts to hold empresarios to account and thereby strengthen the Brazilian state. Moreover, Petrópolis and a later colony in the lands of Pedro II's sister, princess Francisca, offered models worthy of emulation, crowning imperial patronage as the main locus of legitimacy for colonization endeavors. Near the end of the decade, new enterprises emerged thanks to áulicos' efforts, including two helmed by liberal leaders like Vergueiro and Ottoni. Yet, however bold or famous, new endeavors remained derivative, indebted as they were to a palatial drive that transformed Rio de Janeiro into the epicenter of colonization earlier than Vergueiro's ultimately more notorious experiments in São Paulo. Together, áulicos steadied the state's hand and prepared government to adopt a more assertive role in guiding colonization to its own advantage.

THE CONSELHO, THE BELGIANS, AND THE LAND BILL

Reinstated in 1842, the Conselho de Estado quickly became the main government body judging the merits of foreign colonization proposals and weighing the necessary policies to regulate them. However, the diverse nature of proposals challenged the Conselho's capacity to process them on an individual basis, prompting the body to favor regularizing colonization concessions, contracts, and oversight. But how could an ostensibly neutral organ of the moderating power contribute to statutory law? The Conselho was first and foremost in charge of keeping the administrative machinery of the Empire oiled and running. As part of its functions, it assessed provincial legislation to correct constitutional discrepancies, especially after the Interpretive Law of the Additional Act of 1840 passed during Araújo Lima's regency reined in provincial governments' liberties. By issuing opinions on provincial laws, the Conselho

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effectively curbed liberal excesses while maintaining its role as neutral overseer of jurisdictional or substantive legal conflicts submitted in the form of *consultas* (consultations) by any government office. In addition, by creating regulatory protocols, the Conselho indirectly oversaw the execution of codified law. In principle, then, this was a privy council, a supplementary body to the emperor's "moderating power" meant to counsel more than govern. But, in truth, the Conselho became both Pedro II's personal brain trust and a political powerhouse in its own right.

Conselheiros wielded enormous authority after all. Many served as ministers and held lifelong appointments in the Senate, and so perfectly understood work in the Conselho as a higher calling above nasty ministerial and legislative affronts. Notably, even though the Conselho sought to perfect governance impartially through administrative interventions, its consultas reserved space for disagreements. Its four specialized sections often produced split opinions depending on the matter at hand, especially if the outcome affected conselheiros' home provinces or personal interests. Yet this new Conselho was generationally different from that of 1823, which was populated by aging Portuguese-born or Luso-Brazilian statesmen. After 1842, the typical conselheiro was best represented by a white, wealthy Brazilian educated at Coimbra, on average between 48 and 52 years old and prone to obtain a noble title.[2]

Remarkably, colonization interests also united many of these functionaries. Among the seven longest-serving members of this new batch, several had significantly interacted with the SPC and CCB in the 1830s, including Limpo de Abreu, who went on to serve in the Conselho for 35 years, Araújo Lima (28 years), Calmon (22), and Holanda Cavalcanti (13). In all, over half of the first members of the new Conselho had purchased shares in private colonization ventures during the Regency. This background prepared conselheiros to deal with a caseload teeming with permit requests for colonization endeavors. Maria Martins estimated that consultas explicitly touching on colonization made up 7.3 percent of the total seen by the Empire section of the Conselho from 1847 to 1863, but if one adds other areas in which colonization played a part, colonization may have been present in up to 54.6 percent of the net

[2] Maria Vieira Martins, *A velha arte de governar: Um estudo sobre política e elites a partir do Conselho de Estado (1842–1889)* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 2007), 272–319. The Conselho had four specialized sections: Empire, Justice and Foreign Affairs, Finance, and War and Navy, whose opinions were often discussed in plenary.

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total of consultas.[3] Also, other Conselho sections could see colonization-related consultas, including consular protests over the unlawful enlistment of foreigners routinely redirected to the Conselho from the Justice and Foreign ministries.[4] Indeed, even though the Justice ministry did keep track of missing migrants and managed foreign dignitaries' queries on colonos' fates in Brazil, only the Conselho could resolve jurisdictional conflicts in those queries, especially any involving colonos' estates. In the process of handling such cases, the Conselho began to identify colonization issues in need of greater oversight.[5]

A spate of Belgian proposals at the start of the Second Reign strengthened conselheiros' resolve to remedy procedural issues clogging the advancement of colonization endeavors and establish stronger regulations. After independence from the Netherlands in 1830, Belgium had rapidly built railroads that traversed emigration-prone regions, which motivated Belgian colony prospecting across Latin America.[6] In 1840, Benoît Jules Mure, a medical graduate from Montpellier, requested and obtained lands for a settlement in the Saí peninsula in Santa Catarina, in addition to a government commitment to cover colono transport costs from Dunkirk. Initially, the Chamber of Deputies sent his request to a commission, but then a 64-conto subsidy for his project was sandwiched into the Empire ministry's budget for 1842–1843, which fast-tracked his project. The first 84 colonos arrived in 1841, and another 79 left Le Havre in 1843 for the new colony.[7]

[3] Martins, *A velha arte de governar*, 300–301.

[4] For cases of wrongful conscription of French and Portuguese subjects to the National Guard or army in Bahia, Rio, and Maranhão, see AN, Justiça-IJ[1]997, National Guard officer Ildefonso Leopoldo Bayard to Foreign minister Aureliano (18 Mar. 1841) and correspondence among various Justice and Foreign ministers (4 May 1841, 12 Sept. 1844, 7 May, 7 June 1845); IJ[1]998 (13 Jan. 1847, 7 Jan. 1850).

[5] AN, Justiça-IJ[1]997, Aureliano to Paulino (26 May 1841); Ferreira França to Galvão (25 Apr. 1845). Though not dealing with foreign *espólios* (estates), see Linda Lewin, *Surprise Heirs II: Illegitimacy, Inheritance Rights, and Public Power in the Formation of Imperial Brazil, 1822–1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

[6] AHI-MDB-Brussels, 204/3/9, Brazil's Brussels envoy José Marques Lisboa to Foreign minister Maciel (28 Sept. 1838). Belgian-Brazilian relations began with the first appointed Belgian consul in 1835. AMI, I-DJV-21.04.1835-LI.B; I-DJV-01.04.1835-Dru.d; I-DJV-26.12.1838-Tib.d (1, 21 Apr. 1835, 26 Dec. 1838). On Belgian colonization elsewhere, see A. T'Kint, "Guatemala: Colonisation belge," *Nouvelles Archives du Commerce et de l'Industrie Agricole et Manufacturière* 30, no. 9 (1842): 359–381; J. Valerie Fifer, *Bolivia: Land, Location and Politics since 1825* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

[7] Law no. 243 (30 Nov.), *CLIB* (1841), 51ss; 23 June, *ACD* (1841), vol. 1, 654; APESC, Avisos Min. Império-Pres. prov.-1840/42, minister Cândido José de Araújo Viana to

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However, even when granted extremely favorable terms, including a 30-conto loan for transports, Mure failed to make adequate preparations. Moreover, Mure's ideological inclinations soon made the Empire minister uneasy. Mure referred to his colony as the phalanstère of Saí, revealing his alignment with the utopian teachings of Charles Fourier. His devotion to Samuel Hahnemann, the father of homeopathy, further characterized him not only as a Socialist but also as a quack in the eyes of Brazilian statesmen. Soon, the Brazilian government began to withhold funds, sending Saí into an inevitable tailspin. In the years after the colony's demise, nonetheless, Mure's career continued to grow and to demand further interventions by the Conselho. By 1848, Mure had trained a number of Brazilians and even the first Belgian consul in Rio in homeopathy, which incited a medical establishment concerned over his cult-following to ask the Conselho to shut down his plans for a homeopathic school.[8]

Successive Belgian projects continued to flag a need for a uniform set of incentives and procedures for the Conselho. Dr. Jules Parigot, a geology professor from Brussels and an old aide to king Leopold, came to Rio in 1841 with plans for a Belgian "Colonization Society" focused on mining, which quickly stalled due to deputies' uncertainties about whether the Brazilian government should issue special privileges to companies and whether it should favor national over foreign ones.[9] Another Belgian, Joseph Ludgero Nelis, obtained a contract with the central government in June 1842 to establish the colony of Pedra Lisa in Campos, but he lost momentum despite the favors offered by Rio's provincial government.

provincial president SC (18 Dec. 1841); AMI, m.105-doc.5123, Treasury order for paying 4 contos to Dr. Mure (31 May 1842); *Relatório do Império* (1843), 30; AN, GIFI-5B-478, Sérgio Teixeira de Macedo to José Antônio da Silva Maia (24 Dec. 1843). For a fuller account of Saí, see Hoyêdo Nunes Lins, "Fourierismo no Brasil meridional: A saga do falanstério do Saí (1841–1844)," *História Econômica & História de Empresas* 13, no. 1 (2010): 31–72; and especially Laurent Vidal, *Eles sonharam um outro mundo: História atlântica dos fundadores do falanstério do Saí (1841–1846)*, trans. Gilson de Souza (São Paulo: Edusp, 2019).

[8] APESC, Avisos-1840/42, Araújo Viana to provincial president SC (17 Jan. 1842); *Archivo Médico Brasileiro* 2, no. 1 (Sept. 1845): 3–4; Benoît Jules Mure, *Doctrine de l'École de Rio de Janeiro et pathogénésie bresilienne* (Paris: Institut homéopathique, 1849), xx–xix; *Materia medica; or, Provings of the Principal Animal and Vegetable Poisons of the Brazilian Empire, and their Application in the Treatment of Disease*, trans. Charles Hempel (New York: Radde, 1854).

[9] AHI-MDB-London, 216/2/2, Lisboa to Maciel Monteiro (24 June 1839); Calógeras, *As minas do Brasil*, 427; 10 May, *ACD* (1841), vol. 1, 46.

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Clearly, these projects required a consistent system of vigilance to see them through.[10]

The lack of a system led to convoluted results even for proposals supported by the Conselho by allowing profiteers to take advantage of existing loopholes. This eventually prompted conselheiros to reflect on how their regulatory shortfalls generated undesired outcomes, as exemplified by the company drive of another Belgian empresario, Charles van Lede. Van Lede had worked for a mining firm in Mexico and in Chile before he set out to organize the Société Belge-Brésilienne de Colonisation with some help from Parigot, who became his emigration agent.[11] Van Lede baited Brazilian officials with references to Java, Canada, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, and Algeria and tried to impress them by organizing an "emigration protecting council" manned by Belgian grandees. Van Lede soon obtained positive appraisals from Santa Catarina's provincial assembly and by August 1842 an initial contract with the imperial government committing him to importing 100 families in exchange of per capita prizes.

A few months later, van Lede incorporated the company in Belgium as a *société anonyme* with a projected capitalization of 6 million francs (1.872:000$000) underwritten by professional, political, and commercial elites from Brussels and Antwerp. In 1844, king Leopold recognized its statutes.[12] The Conselho recommended government purchase of one-quarter of available shares. Comparatively, Brazilian proponents encountered far less favor. For instance, the tireless Joaquim José de Sequeira

[10] APERJ-PP, Secretaria, 0009, 0018, 0107.

[11] AN, Conselho-cód. 49, vol. 1 (1842–1843), "Consulta ... sobre o estabelecimento de uma Companhia de mineração" (6 Nov. 1843); GIFI-5B-478, Brazil's minister in London José de Araújo Ribeiro to Empire minister José da Silva Maia (25, 27 Jan. 1844).

[12] AHI-MDB-Brussels, 204/3/9, visconde de Santo Amaro to Aureliano (1 Dec. 1839), Brazil's consul in Brussels Augusto Thedim de Sequeira to Aureliano (30 Dec. 1842); [RGPL, 15D5] *Companhia Belgo-Brasileira de colonisação, estabelecida por decreto de 10 de agosto de 1842 de sua magestade imperial o sr. d. Pedro II, e debaixo da protecção de sua magestade o rei da Bélgica* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Austral, 1844); Charles van Lede, *De la colonisation au Brésil: Mémoire historique, descriptif, statistique et commercial sur la province de Sainte-Catherine* (Brussels: Librairie Polytechnique d'Aug. Decq., 1843); AN, Conselho-cód. 49, vol. 2, "Consulta ... Companhia de Colonisação Belgo-Brasileira" (10 Sept. 1844); "No. 29. Arrêté qui approve les statuts de la société de anonyme dite Compagnie belge brésilienne de colonisation," *Bulletin Officiel des lois et Arrêtés Royaux de la Belgique*, no. 5 (10 Mar. 1844): 29–52; "No. 39. Arrêté qui approuve une disposition interprétative de l'acte constitutif de la compagnie belge brésilienne de colonisation," no. 7 (2 Apr. 1844): 63–64; *Société Anonyme dite Compagnie Belge-Brésilienne de Colonisation: Approbation des statuts* (Brussels: Imprimerie du Moniteur Belge, 1844).

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requested an appointment as "chargé of foreign colonization for the northern provinces" in Paris or London, only to be rejected. Matheus Ramos, a trader of Chinese goods, proposed a company to furnish Asian colonos to the government, but his bid similarly failed. Yet, even if it wished to, the Conselho could not realize these plans. While it could vet laws, it could not legislate at will and was ultimately hamstrung when it wished to favor colonization enterprises due to the absence of clear procedures for weighing company merits and corresponding privileges.[13]

What the Conselho could do was exercise its attribution to submit its own bills to the Chamber's consideration. And in doing so, the Conselho prioritized colonization at Pedro II's behest. In mid-1842, the emperor tasked Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos and José Cesário de Miranda Ribeiro in the Conselho's Empire section with drafting a bill on land grants and followed up a month later asking for another on foreign colonization. The conselheiros gathered old files from ministerial and legislative archives that documented colonization projects over two decades and set the tenor for the debates that followed. The papers included H. G. Schmidt's plan of 1821, defended by Domingo Borges at the Lisbon Courts; a British company proposal to establish colonies in the Cisplatina in 1825; four different versions of the 1827 colonization bill drafted by Barbacena's commission; two additional bills of 1838 and 1840 (Amaral's and Souza Franco's); a colonization project for Maranhão "undersigned by a great number of people"; and more recent proposals from two French subjects and from Georg Friedrich Schmidt, an employee at Brazil's legation in Hamburg. The Conselho also wrote to the British consul to inquire about British emigration to Brazil and included his response among the papers.[14] This impromptu archive ended with the latest pamphlets on Australian and Canadian colonization sent by Brazilian diplomats, many of which celebrated the ideas of the radical political economist Edward Gibbon Wakefield

[13] AN, Conselho-cód. 49, vol. 3, "Parecer … sobre Joaquim José de Siqueira" (10 Nov. 1845), 10vr; vol. 4, "Parecer [sobre] a concessão de privilégio para organizar uma Companhia Comercial de navegação entre o Brasil e Ásia" (7 Jan. 1850), 76r–78; *DRJ*, no. 124, 6903, 8354 (8 June 1842, 2 May 1845, 18 Mar. 1850).

[14] AN, Diversos-cód. 299, "Aviso para a Secção organizar uma Proposta sobre sesmarias" (6 June 1842); "Aviso para a Secção organizar uma Proposta sobre Colonização Estrangeira" (8 July 1842).

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regarding the necessity of land sales in lieu of land grants to ensure the success of colonization enterprises.[15]

Conselheiros used Wakefield as a guidepost for their revisions of Vasconcelos's and Miranda Ribeiro's draft bill. These revisions stipulated strong executive powers to organize public land sales, demarcate land, prohibit sesmarias and informal squats (*posses*), and prevent colonos from purchasing land, renting plots, and owning businesses or peddling within three years of arrival, after which they could naturalize and buy land whose proceeds would be dedicated to importing more workers.[16] The revised bill also empowered district courts to oversee sales and contract feuds. It further authorized provincial presidents and the central government to handle appeals.[17] As it entered the Chamber in 1843, the bill incorporated a land tax and a registration fee for posses and pre-1822 sesmarias, established size limits for existing posses while prohibiting all future posses, and obligated landowners to survey and register their property within six months. In order to protect national territory, government preserved a right to grant public lands along Brazilian borders as needed, allowing some flexibility to the Wakefield principle of strictly replacing land grants with land sales.[18]

The Conselho's revised bill arrived at the Chamber for discussion as projeto no. 94. Historians have long understood that the ensuing debates hinged on the interests and stratagems of wealthy slaveholding coffee elites from the Brazilian southeast. But, with its emphasis in shaping a land market, the Conselho-crafted projeto no. 94 in fact accomplished three notable achivements that upend traditional explanations. First, far from cementing an exclusive class of land "barons" opposed to reform, the projeto no. 94 in fact facilitated cross-regional and inter-party

[15] Two of the pamphlets included were John Stephens, *South Australia. An Exposure of the Absurd, Unfounded, and Contradictory Statements in James's "Six Months in South Australia"* (London: Smith Elder, 1839); Thornton Leigh Hunt, *Canada and South Australia* (London: Charles Reynell, 1839).

[16] The decision to suspend sesmaria grants originated in 1822 pending legislation by the Constitutional Assembly. Decision no. 76, *CLIB* (1822), 62–63; Provision (23 Oct.), *CLIB* (1823), 109.

[17] AN, Conselho-cod. 49, vol. 4, "Parecer sobre Exposição e Projeto sobre Colonização e sesmarias" (8 Aug. 1842); "Proposta sobre Sesmarias, e Colonização estrangeira."

[18] Silva, *Terras devolutas*, 96–98; José Murilo de Carvalho, "A modernização frustrada: A política de terras no império," *RBH* 1, no. 1 (1981): 40–41; Richard Graham, "Landowners and the Overthrow of the Empire," *LBR* 7, no. 2 (1970): 44–56; Emília Viotti da Costa, *Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 78–93; Warren Dean, "Latifundia and Land Policy in Nineteenth-Century Brazil," *HAHR* 51, no. 4 (1971): 606–625.

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alliances based on deputies' agreement on the value of colonization. Expectedly, conservative Navy minister Joaquim José Rodrigues Torres, who introduced the bill, and Diogo Vasconcelos, brother of the conselheiro who had drafted the bill, adamantly supported projeto no. 94. But the most eloquent defender of the bill was a junior liberal deputy from Pará, Bernardo de Souza Franco, who had already advanced his own land bill stipulating significant corporate advantages in 1840 and openly invoked Wakefield's ideas in his addresses as provincial president of Pará in 1841 at the tail end of the Cabanagem rebellion.

Secondly, the debates upheld the Conselho's imperative by enshrining profit as the driving force of land reform and of colonization in particular. As Souza Franco asserted, "in this project the most essential thing is money …. Colonization is the end; money, the means." The project's conservative supporters agreed, with Diogo Vasconcelos positing that "raising land values is the first rule of colonization" and even a staunch conservative like Rodrigues Torres defending land re-sale and speculation as entirely legitimate. Lastly, these debates consecrated companies as some of the leading beneficiaries of the projected bill. Some deputies raised important concerns, with one warning that under the proposed law "nothing would be easier than a foreign company taking over a great portion of some important territory."[19] The projeto no. 94 plowed through those worries and passed the Chamber. However, once in the Senate, it stalled in a special commission until 1847, when Miguel Calmon called for discussing it once again.

OLINDA, THE RELUCTANT REGULATOR

In the intervening years, some conselheiros refused to idly wait for a land law to materialize and decided to draft an exacting ordinance to facilitate migrations in the meantime. The ordinance followed up on the 1843–1844 budget law, which had already expanded anchorage duty exemptions for colono vessels by overriding a previously set minimum of 100 colonos and instead stipulating exemptions in proportion to any number of passengers. The conselheiros' ordinance was undersigned by Araújo Lima, who was very likely its leading author as suggested by similarities with policies he adopted later in 1857–1858. Other undersigners included Calmon, José da Costa Carvalho (the president of the

[19] Bernardo de Souza Franco, *Relatório do presidente da província PA* (1841), 17–19; *ACD* (1843), vol. 2, 350–351, 382, 389–392, 744.

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Santos colonization company, see Chapter 3), and the authors of the initial projeto no. 94 draft – a roster that promised pathbreaking innovations.

Indeed, the ordinance broke new ground by defining what types of migrants counted toward anchorage exemptions. And for the first time it mandated the collection of individual information from colonos including age, gender (to identify unaccompanied young women purposefully disqualified from exemptions), smallpox scars, employment history, and family status. It also defined consular officers' responsibilities, which included abiding by contractually agreed colono quotas and producing quarterly tallies of incomers. In exchange, consuls were incentivized with money prizes for arriving colonos at a rate of 100$ for every ten. In all, this innovative and ambitious ordinance exemplified the Conselho's capacity to extra-legally shape the means of policy implementation and offered a path forward for ongoing colonization proposals.[20] The timing proved crucial as three important proposals made their way to the Conselho in 1844: one from Dr. Carl von Martius, another from a German empresario, Hermann Blumenau, and a third from Pedro II's sister, dona Francisca, princess of Joinville, who wished celebrate her marriage by establishing a German colony with the help of a Hamburg-based emigration society.[21]

Araújo Lima, visconde de Olinda, stood out among his peers in handling these proposals by embracing a nuanced regulatory ethos best exemplified in his opinion on von Martius's proposal. Surely, he would have preferred that the Chamber possessed the necessary codes to process such requests, but, absent those, Olinda took on the role of a reluctant regulator, and one who tempered his more reactionary peers' spirits vis à vis complex requests such as the one at hand. Dr. Carl Friedrich Philip von Martius, the veteran botanist from the Austrian Scientific Expedition of 1817, wanted to know if he could start a colony in Brazil and asked Brazil's consul in London whether he could "form associations to promote emigration to the Empire." Von Martius knew Brazil well and had

[20] AN, Conselho-cód. 49, vol. 1, "Parecer ... sobre as bases que se devem marcar para o desconto da ancoragem em favor dos Navios que trouxerem Colonos e sobre as qualidades que estes devem ter" (7 Dec. 1843), "Parecer acerca de Colonisação Hespanhola"; Law no. 99 (31 Oct.) *CLIB* (1835), vol. 1, 116; Law no. 317 (21 Oct.), *CLIB* (1843), vol. 1, 46; Decree no. 356 (26 Apr.), *CLIB* (1844), vol. 1, 111–114.

[21] AN, Conselho-cód. 49, vol. 3, "Parecer ... sobre as propostas apresentadas pelo Dr. Hermann Blumenau ao Consul de Hamburgo sobre colonização" (26 Sept. 1846), 56–57r; and vol. 4, "Parecer" (4 Dec. 1849), 71–76r.

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long corresponded with Brazilian savants and diplomats like Bento da Silva Lisboa. More practically, he had also consulted the 1840 and 1843 land bills and had already found a patron in count Adalbert von der Recke, a famous literato who owned an establishment for poor children. He thus proposed his conditions for a colonization enterprise by requesting automatic naturalization of emigrants, local control of a district council and standing military corps, and the exclusion of Brazilians, who would require special license to live in his colony. As would be expected based on this last condition, the Conselho strenuously rejected the scheme. Vasconcelos and Miranda Ribeiro even equated any such concession to "ceding a portion of the Empire's territory" to "an independent society" bent on exploiting Brazilians.[22]

Olinda, in turn, issued a separate, more subtle, opinion. Indeed, his assessment evinced impressive learning gains that allowed him to propose potential correctives to colonizing efforts to date by establishing a balance between private requests and government expectations. "The two companies formed in this city and in Bahia to promote [colonization]," he recalled, "are nonexistent: and the colonos they brought did not behave in a way that would make it desirable for others to come." Olinda acknowledged that colonos were necessary to strengthen the country through their "agglomeration." Discarding the United States and Canada as viable models for Brazilian colonization, he looked instead to Russia as a more suitable exemplar and to Australia, particularly the Swan river colony, where the government granted land to a company that in turn sold it to private individuals under certain obligations. In Olinda's view, government had to provide concessions to continue "to excite private interests" while acknowledging that "establishing a colony entails enormous investment." With these ideas in mind, Olinda interpreted many of von Martius's ideas positively, agreeing with establishing German schools, Protestant churches, and a local district council elected by popular vote, but objecting to Brazilians' exclusion and military exemptions if colonos naturalized.[23]

Olinda's nuance did not preclude the Conselho's stringent exercise of its gatekeeping attributions, both in this case and when van Lede's speculations around the Société Belge-Brasilienne came to light. After the

[22] IHGB-(i)-DL 842.6, Silva Lisboa to von Martius (Jan.–June 1842); AN, Conselho-cód. 49, vol. 2, "Consulta … sobre uma carta do Dr. Martius … para o estabelecimento de uma Colonia" (9 July 1844), 28v–39v.

[23] AN, Conselho-cód. 49, vol. 2, "Consulta …" (9 July 1844).

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1842 decree that authorized him to proceed with organizing a company, van Lede had tried to sell his rights to a third party and then incorporated the enterprise in Belgium without having done so in Brazil. In the new company statutes approved in Belgium, the company's operating capital was one million francs lower than the amount approved in Brazil with the 1842 decree, allegedly because that was the quantity claimed by van Lede as compensation. In response to these irregularities, the Empire minister canceled obligations toward van Lede, arguing that the Chamber had rightfully authorized similar privileges to another proponent. Van Lede protested that he had incorporated the company in "good faith" and had already entered obligations to creditors and emigration agents. He also warned that this unilateral contractual withdrawal would cast a grave shadow over the "Imperial signature."

The Conselho issued a withering – and sobering – response. Approved statutes in Belgium, it clarified, did not extend to Brazil, and if van Lede made promises to any future shareholders he "would only fool them regarding the true state of affairs." Conselheiros questioned the attempt to relay the privileges to third parties and the negligence involved in commencing an emigration drive without having demarcated lands or launched share subscriptions. These "preparatory acts to organize companies" fell on the Société's agents, the Conselho concluded. Nevertheless, the Conselho agreed that the Société deserved governmental protection but only as long as van Lede submitted new statutes to both legislative houses for consideration.[24]

As an adamant regulatory watchdog, the Conselho de Estado compensated for the absence of codified colonization regulations by avidly identifying procedural problems and designing protocols to solve them. In doing so, it helped to refine the form and function of the government's administrative powers. Still, its interest in streamlining petitionary and concessionary processes left many questions unanswered, even if it produced only tentative responses to the questions of how much decision-making the government should cede to company managers and shareholders abroad (very little) and what status overseas incorporations

[24] AN, Conselho-cód. 49, vol. 2, "Consulta ... sobre a Companhia de Colonização Belgo-Brasileira" (10 Sept. 1844), 21v–25r;*Correio Official*, no. 113, 114 (26, 27 May 1837). The company eventually established its colony, Ilhota, and received colonos from 1845–1847, upon which van Lede returned to Belgium. Carlos Ficker, *Charles van Lede e a colonização belga: Subsídios para a história da colonização de Ilhota, no Rio Itajaí Açu pela "Compagnie Belge-Brésilienne de Colonisation"* (Blumenau: Blumenau em Cadernos, 1972).

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should enjoy in Brazil (none, unless sanctioned by imperial authorities). More importantly, however, in its engagement with colonization the Conselho demonstrated that it was not an extra-political entity designed exclusively to preserve conservative dominance, enhance monarchical power, and stubbornly block industrial and corporate development. Rather, as the regulatory body most closely linked to the monarch, the Conselho, and reluctant conselheiros like Olinda in particular, sought to modernize migrant-recruitment protocols and safeguard government interests from contractual breaches by companies incorporated elsewhere. Paradigmatically, Olinda's efforts synthesized decades of political experience and business experiments into uniform policy responses.

RIO DE JANEIRO: COLONIZATION CENTRAL

Rio de Janeiro stood to benefit disproportionately from the new anchorage rules as the busiest port region in the country, and it would do so thanks in large measure to Aureliano de Souza Oliveira Coutinho. Aureliano had served as judge, president of São Paulo, and minister. He was a popular public works advocate although he also tainted his reputation by allegedly orchestrating the Majority coup from the shadows, earning the moniker of the "Achilles of the majority movement." Yet, from his years in the majority cabinet as well as the conservative ministry that followed, and through his long stint as Rio's provincial president from 1844–1848, Aureliano devoted his energy to institutionalizing colonization activities in ways that strengthened and aggrandized the Crown. His closeness to the emperor incited further accusations in 1847 that he led a "palace faction" keeping Pedro II under thrall. In fact, the emperor and his close friend had much uniting them, including their commitment to colonization.[25]

[25] The term "facção áulica" came from a tract attributed to Firmino Rodrigues da Silva, founder of the conservative paper *O Brasil*, accusing Aureliano and his entourage of wantonly scheming cabinet dissolutions. *A dissolução do gabinete de 5 de maio, ou a facção áulica* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imp. de Francisco de Paula Brito, 1847); Lery Santos, *Pantheon fluminense: Esboços biographicos* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. G. Leuzinger, 1880), 27–38; Julio Bentivoglio, "Palacianos e aulicismo no Segundo Reinado: a facção áulica de Aureliano Coutinho e os bastidores da Corte de D. Pedro II," *Esboços* 17, no. 23 (2010): 187–221; and "Panfletos políticos e política no Basil otiocentista: A facção áulica e os bastidores da Corte de D. Pedro II," *RIHGB* 173, no. 454 (2012): 87–114; Jeffrey C. Mosher, *Political Struggle, Ideology and State Building: Pernambuco and the Construction of Brazil, 1817–1850* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 165–179.

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Throughout the 1840s, Aureliano gave pride of place to colonization matters. With the help of his diplomatic officers and his brother Saturnino as the head of customs in Rio, he sought to repurpose government-directed colonization. When the chargé d'affaires in the Hanse Cities informed him of the exponential growth of emigrant exits from Bremen and of growing competition of Java coffee in Hamburg, Aureliano targeted Hamburg syndic Karl as a potential investor and patron of emigration to Brazil.[26] As an emigration promoter, Sieveking believed that durable emigration flows required the receiving country to cover travel costs and sell land to emigrants, but rather than Brazil, he was then negotiating with the New Zealand Company to establish a German colony on Chatham island. His plans changed when the British prime minister prohibited the company from selling colonial lands to a foreign power and incorporated the islands to New Zealand territory.[27] Brazil's chargé took advantage of this and followed up on Sieveking's earlier interest in acquiring land near São Paulo, Santa Catarina, or other ports, suggesting that Aureliano's ministry was ready to compete with some of the top colonization companies of the time.

Aureliano also hired a colonization agent, Dr. Georg Friedrich Schmidt, who became a most productive paid employee of the Brazilian delegation. Where Schäffer and others had incited public flare-ups, Schmidt stamped out fires with his memórias and press releases. In mid-1842, he even publicly confronted the US consul in Bremen, an "improvised agent" of the New Zealand Company, over his attacks on Brazilian emigration drives.[28] And he learned how to sell Brazil's advantages. In 1844, he ordered Brazilian soil samples to study their properties and inform emigrants about potential crops and yields. Schmidt's work even

[26] AHI-MDB-Berlin/Hamburg, 202/2/15, Brazil's chargé at Hanse Cities, Grand Duchies of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and Oldenburg Marcos Antônio de Araújo to Foreign minister Aureliano (21 Jan., 21 Feb., 27 Mar., 30 Apr., 30 Aug., 25, 27 Oct., 27 Nov., 26 Dec. 1841, 22 Jan., 24 Feb., 24 May, 29 Apr., 18 June, 1 Sept., 26 Oct. 1842, 28 Jan. 1843). Hamburg's government was a four-man syndicate that served as a sort of ministry under the orders of a legislature made up of 24 senators and 400 "liverymen." Sieveking was a "foreign affairs" syndic.

[27] William Swainson, *New Zealand and Its Colonization* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1859), 132–135.

[28] AHI-MDB-Berlin/Hamburg, 202/2/15, Araújo to Aureliano (28 July 1842); Sabrina Sant'Anna, "Um certo Dr. F. Schmidt: Circulação de ciência e tecnologia na relação Brasil-Alemanha (1841–1861)," *Cadernos do CHDD* 8, no. 15 (2009): 317–363; Georg Friedrich Schmidt, *Die geregelte Auswanderung nach Brasilien und ihr erster glänzender Erfolg* (Verlag von G. Fröbel: Rudolstadt, 1852).

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continued to regale Aureliano with prized information long after his ministry, including on the Texas German Colonization Society's recruitment ploys in 1844.[29]

Aureliano indeed paid close attention to Bremen's and Hamburg's growing importance as emigrant exit ports. All the same, he eyed emergent industrial regions such as Belgium, where he authorized Charles van Lede's appointment as vice-consul, paving the way for his company run, and issued instructions for the consul general to aid Parigot with migrant recruitment in Brussels.[30] Aureliano's ministerial exit interrupted and complicated this avid colonization advocacy. Yet, against his conservative foes' wishes, Aureliano was still able to leverage the emperor's favor. He not only kept his brother as top customs officer but also managed to obtain Rio's presidency by the emperor's direct indication.[31]

At the head of Brazil's top province, Aureliano continued to shepherd colonization, especially Belgian endeavors like the Pedra Lisa colony. He made good use of the provincial law of 30 May 1840 authorizing Rio's president to contract companies for the establishment of agricultural colonies and inaugurated the Comissão Central Directora da Colonização (Central Commission for Directing Colonization). This organ aligned the provincial government with the Empire ministry after its 1843 reform, particularly with its new fourth section focusing on "agriculture, cattle-ranching, mining, colonization and indigenous civilization." As provincial president, Aureliano directly managed the Comissão, setting it up for a relatively long institutional life, as it remained in operation as a stand-alone provincial bureau until 1876.[32]

With the new Commissão at hand, soon into his presidency Aureliano mobilized plans for a grand model colony. If, as Vasconcelos famously

[29] AN, Junta do Comércio-cx. 418, secretary José Maria Velho da Silva to Brazil's chargé in Hamburg Araújo (24 Sept. 1844); *Relatório do Império* (1846), 14; APERJ-PP-Secretaria, 0006, mç. 3, Empire minister José Carlos Pereira de Almeida Torres to Aureliano (27 Aug. 1844).

[30] AHI-MDB-Brussels, 204/3/9, Antonio José Rademaker to Aureliano (25 Feb. 1842); legation secretary Augusto Thedim de Sequeira to Aureliano (2, 30 Dec. 2, 1842); "Biographia de Aureliano de Sousa Oliveira Coutinho, visconde de Sepetiba" *RIHGB* 23, no. 2 (1860): 345–363; Dirk Hoerder, "The Traffic of Emigration via Bremen/Bremerhaven: Merchants' Interests, Protective Legislation, and Migrants' Experiences," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13, no. 1 (1993): 68–101.

[31] Needell, *Party of Order*, 100–112.

[32] Decree no. 273 (25 Feb.), *CLIB* (1843), vol. 1, pt. II, 38; José E. Lima, ed. *A província fluminense: Administração provincial no tempo do Império do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Público do Estado, 2012), 80–81, 280–290.

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said, "Aureliano sculpted his name on the foundations of our monarchy" due to his inside influence, to repay the favor Aureliano sought to sculpt the emperor's name on the fluminense palisade. Petrópolis, or "Pedro's city," as the projected royal colony was christened, would become Pedro II's summer retreat and a model colony for Brazilian and foreign entrepreneurs. Its altitude and distance from the Court provided a sanitary respite from the fevers that periodically beset Rio. It was also close enough that, while staying there, the emperor could quickly return to the Court to attend to emergencies. Petrópolis also gave visibility to multiple road construction projects beyond the Estrela road and well into Minas.[33] Its layout was the work of Julius Friedrich Koeler, the German engineer supervising the Estrela road, who designed a seigneurial city with a bucolic touch – long mainstreets surrounded by German-named districts, each traversed by canals or streams feeding well-demarcated smallholds (Figure 4.1).[34]

Koeler's contributions to prop up Petrópolis put in evidence important continuities with prior colonization efforts and underlined the role of private initiative. Koeler had already interacted closely with the SPC when, years prior, he took in the German colonos from the Sydney-bound *Justine* for the Estrela road works (see Chapter 3). At that time, he found out about Córrego Seco, one of the emperor's properties up in the mountains, and petitioned the central government for permission to start his own colonization business. As his partner for the proposed venture, Koeler chose colonization agent Louis Friedrich Kalkmann, one of Schäffer's protégés (see Chapter 2).[35] The Conselho responded with a cold reminder that such a petition "should be regulated with a general law, and not through favors." But Olinda figured among the conselheiros overseeing this request and as a devout monarchist may have sympathized with the plans already voiced by *mordomo* (chamberlain) Paulo Barbosa, the undeclared patron of Petrópolis as an imperial colony. Koeler did not

[33] Télio Anísio Cravo, *Construindo pontes e estradas no Brasil Império: Engenheiros e trabalhadores nas Minas Gerais (1835–1889)* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2016).

[34] Henri Raffard, "Jubileu de Petrópolis," *RIHGB* 58, no. 2 (1895): 5–213; Charles Ribeyrolles, *Brasil pittoresco: História, descripções, viagens, instituições, colonisação*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1859), 150–151.

[35] IHGB-(0), Lata 217-doc. 1, "Parecer ... sobre representação de L. K. Kalkmann e J. Fr. Koeler que se propõem a formar uma companhia para estabelecer colonias no Império" (draft, no date, c.1842–1844).

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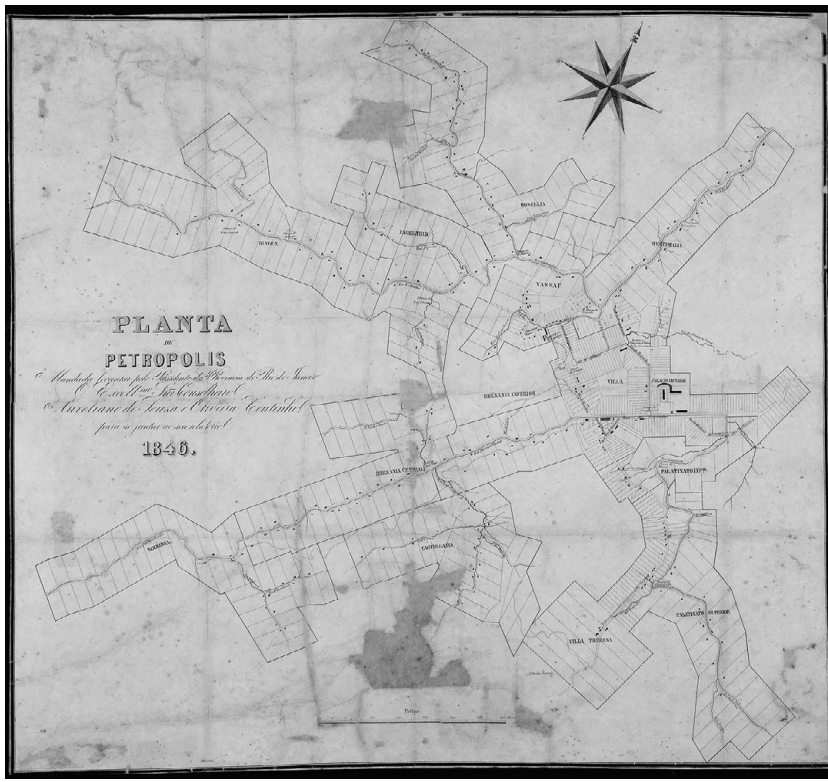

FIGURE 4.1 Projected land plots and canal works in Petrópolis (1846)
AMI, Cartografia-RJ-PT-1846, "Planta de Petrópolis do ano de 1846, mandada levantar pelo então presidente da província do Rio de Janeiro, Aureliano de Souza e Oliveira Coutinho" (1846). Image courtesy of the Arquivo do Museu Imperial.

receive a company charter but did obtain an appointment as director of the colony, which he held until his suspicious death in 1847.[36]

For years following its founding in 1845, foreigners marveled at Petrópolis. Fleeing the yellow fever at the port, Argentinian exile Domingo Faustino Sarmiento spent several weeks there in 1852, meeting frequently with Pedro II. On his return to Rio, he discussed immigration with minister Carneiro Leão and reported being "enchanted" by Petrópolis. He included glowing remarks on the colony in his famous recollection of the war against Rosas published in Brazil, even if he later

[36] Américo Lacombe, ed. *Cartas de Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius a Paulo Barbosa da Silva* (Rio de Janeiro: IHGB, 1991); Ribeyrolles, *Brasil pittoresco*, 159–163.

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published unflattering opinions about Brazilian migration policy.[37] By then, the colony had grown considerably to a population of 2,959 individuals, of whom almost half were Prussian, 45 percent minors (1,336), and only 24 percent Brazilian (715).[38] With time, Petrópolis facilitated colono settlement along road projects into Minas, as recounted by a student of von Martius who visited Brazil in 1865. Telling of how the trip from Petrópolis to Juiz de Fora could be completed in 10 or 12 hours along a macadam road, Harvard zoologist Louis Agassiz spoke of the rest stops along the way, all styled like Swiss chalets and marking numerous German colonies. Like many Brazilians at the time, Agassiz remarked that "colonization schemes assumed a more definite and settled character" only after the abolition of the slave trade in 1850, when in fact plans for Petrópolis had already laid the groundwork in 1845–1846, as had a special diplomatic mission to Europe that tasked Miguel Calmon with exploring potential partnerships beyond the United Kingdom, for which he used colonization as a powerful intermediary.[39]

COLONIZATION'S DIPLOMACY

Calmon's long ministerial record prepared him for a mission to expand Brazil's fledgling "economic diplomacy" and maneuver around British pressures as the Anglo-Brazilian treaty of 1827 and the commercial treaty of 1831 expired.[40] While the United Kingdom jockeyed for treaty renewals to include a slave trade ban, Brazilian ministers weighed

[37] Sarmiento visited Rio in 1846. A decade later, he wryly noted that "the climate is not so pleasant for Europeans" and the "food ways are repugnant to foreigners." Domingo F. Sarmiento, "La inmigración," in *Obras completas, vol. 23: Inmigración y colonización*, 364 (Buenos Aires: Imprenta "Mariano Moreno," 1899) [originally published in *El Nacional* (Dec. 29, 1856)]. For more, see José Antonio Soares de Sousa, "Sarmiento em Petrópolis, com D. Pedro II," *RIHGB* 291 (1970): 3–14; Adriana Amante, *Poéticas y políticas del destierro. Argentinos en Brasil en la época de Rosas* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010), 26–31, 203–212, 398–403. Sarmiento mentioned Petrópolis in his first edition of *Campaña en el Ejército Grande Aliado de Sud América* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprenta Imp. y Const. de J. Villeneuve y C., 1852).

[38] AHEx, Relação das Colônias Militares, M13,E-A,P4, cx. 1, pac. 4-pasta 4, "Cópia do Relatório do Estado da Imperial Colônia de Petrópolis no fim do anno de 1853."

[39] Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston: Houghton, Osgood, and Company, 1879), v, 64–66, 512–514; Brito, *Relatório*, 29–30.

[40] I borrow "economic diplomacy" from and see its linkages to colonization based on Paulo Roberto de Almeida, *Formação da diplomâcia econômica no Brasil: As relações internacionais no Império* (Brasília: Fundação Alexandre Gusmão, 2017), vol. 1, pt. V.

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approaching Prussia, then at the head of the German customs union known as the Zollverein, as a potential partner to counterbalance British influence. In response, British ministers calculated a more forceful approach. As Anglo-Brazilian relations deteriorated, Calmon set out on a mission with multiple remits, including lobbying in Britain for the abolition of differential duties, obtaining British and French support against Argentinian dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas, and producing a new commercial treaty with Prussia. Calmon set out as a seasoned statesman and, importantly, as one conversant in the art of colonization, a powerful lever in the negotiations ahead.[41]

From the outset, the British government appeared unswayable. A mounting free trade movement worried British ministers about how to preserve a competitive edge for colonial products, especially sugar, if protectionist barriers fell.[42] Yet Brazilian markets remained important to British commerce, as a Liverpool shipping lobby reminded the prime minister Robert Peel by pleading for a treaty renewal as British preferential duties expired. To oppose restrictions on Brazilian sugar and coffee in new negotiations, Liverpudlian merchants highlighted that slave imports were already illegal and that US cotton was imported at a nominal duty despite being produced by slaves.[43] Other Brazil-related British industries piled on this pressure. The English manager of the Imperial Mining Association, George Vincent Duval, foresaw that higher import duties could apply to the company in the United Kingdom because of its dependence on slavery and concocted a British government–subsidized emigration plan to whitewash the company's reliance on slavery and avoid higher duties. Imperial Mining was already plagued by reports on the conditions of its enslaved laborers, the children of whom Duval once suggested placing on treadmills to power machinery.[44] If his ruse worked,

[41] Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807–1869* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 238–241.

[42] See Cheryl Schondhardt-Bailey, *From the Corn Laws to Free Trade: Interests, Ideas, and Institutions in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006).

[43] BL, Manuscripts-Peel Papers, Add. MS 40612, ff. 98–99, "Memorial of the Merchants of Liverpool forming the Brazilian Association at that port" (8 Jan. 1842).

[44] BL, Manuscripts-Peel Papers, Add. MS 40539, ff. 316–321, George Vincent Duval "Suggestions in regards to Emigration generally, & to its particular applicability to Brazil" (23 Jan. 1844); NAk, C.O. 318/148, ex-secretary at Gongo Soco T.A. Kentish, "An Introductory Letter Addressed to T. F. Buxton on the Frightful Horrors of Modern Slavery as Practised by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association in their Mines at Gongo Soco," to War and Colonies secretary John Russell (18 Nov. 1840); *Astro de Minas*, no. 1472 (11 May 1837).

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the company would have likely avoided higher duties. At the opposite end of these pressures and proposals, Lord Ripon, the Board of Trade secretary, championed a tougher stance to replace Brazil altogether. Ripon coaxed Peel to look for alternatives to Brazilian commodities. In his view, lifting Java sugar prohibitions in India would channel the surplus to Britain at affordable prices, and Java would consequently displace Brazil as a market for British manufactures.[45]

Preferential rights or differential duties, depending on how the question was posed or by whom, were at the root of these considerations and of international commercial accords more generally at the time of Calmon's mission. Yet his instructions encompassed strategic aims that transcended tariffs and duties. One of his prime goals was to secure British and French support for a joint intervention in the southern confines of Brazil and Uruguay, then under threat of invasion by Juan Manuel de Rosas. As soon as Calmon arrived in London in mid-October 1844, he sought out Lord Aberdeen, only to be kept waiting for weeks. Meetings did not produce the expected outcomes, as Calmon failed to secure military commitments from the British and later from the French, with the former dead set on the slavery question and the latter still harboring resentments over border skirmishes between Pará and Cayenne.

Berlin, however, held higher hopes. For years, Sturz had recommended Prussia as a potential partner based on his close assessments of the rapidly expanding Zollverein customs union. In addition, the Brazilian Empire already possessed commercial ties with the Hanse cities and had considered proposals for reciprocal navigation rights from the German kingdoms of Oldenburg and Hanover. Calmon arrived in Berlin in the middle of winter in 1845, with the British government and Ripon himself following his every move out of concern that Brazil would secure a partner that did not distinguish between slave- and free-grown sugar.[46]

[45] BL, Add. MS 40464, ff. 240–259, Robert Peel to Lord Ripon (1, 6 Aug. 1842); Jan Breman, *Mobilizing Labor for the Global Coffee Market: Profits from an Unfree Work Regime in Colonial Java* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 211–301. The Dutch East India Company's forced-labor *cultuurstelsel* (cultivation system) established in Java in 1830 overrode an earlier system based on "village communities" and, according to Rafael Marquese, "As origens de Brasil e Java: trabalho compulsório e a reconfiguração da economia mundial do café na Era das Revoluções, c.1760–1840," *História* 34, no. 2 (2015): 108–127, was implemented to counter Brazilian competition.

[46] Even though Prussia had a strong beet sugar industry, cane sugar consumption was about six times greater than beet in 1843–1844. According to Calmon, Brazil supplied one-third of the Zollverein's sugar and coffee consumption. Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, *A Missão Especial do Visconde de Abrantes de Outubro de 1844 á outubro de 1846*,

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Negotiations in Prussia moved slowly at first but were greatly aided by the topic of emigration. Abrantes speculated that the foreign minister, baron Heinrich von Bülow, purposely delayed his dealings to obtain rights beyond mere reciprocity. Bülow recriminated Brazil's failure to seek an earlier accord, considering its statesmen knew that Prussia possessed no colonies of its own. He lowballed initial offers: in exchange for improved differential rights, Prussia would turn a blind eye to emigration to Brazil, a concession both symbolic and unnecessary. Indeed, at the time, Petrópolis had restored some prestige to Brazil as a destination, thanks in part to promoters like Günther Fröbel, a printer who opened a Brazil-focused emigration agency in Rudolstadt (Thuringia) in 1845 and started a promotional newspaper, the *Allgemeine Auswanderung-Zeitung*.[47] And in 1844–1845, as Abrantes noted, at least thirty "patriotic associations" dedicated to emigration were active in German territories. The one remaining concern for Abrantes was the continuing reports of abuses by emigration agents and the endless allusions to "white slavery." In response to these, the Great Duchy of Hesse, Bavaria, Prussia, and Württemberg began demanding pre-approved contracts and proof of solvency on the part of emigrants – Bülow could certainly help to roll these back. Gradually, the two statesmen found common ground under the assumption that any treaty would depend on emigration "to establish the closest relationships between the two countries and increase the consumption of German products."[48]

Yet, as if by a fit of jealousy, exactly as Prussian negotiations moved forward, the British Parliament passed the Aberdeen Act on 8 August 1845. Long seen as an aggressive ultimatium against Brazilian slave contraband, the new law disincentivized Prussian interest in a Brazilian treaty by implicitly calling the German kingdom to its own treaty obligations against the slave trade. Further diminishing Abrantes's prospects, Bülow's deteriorating health led to his replacement

vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Empresa Typographica Dous de Dezembro, 1853), 178–179. In addition to these published records on the mission, what follows synthesizes material from AHI-RCB-Berlin, 240/1/14, and the three original tomes: AHI-MEB-Germany, 271/1/2; 271/1/3; 271/1/4.

[47] Débora Bendocchi Alves, "Cartas de imigrantes como fonte para o historiador: Rio de Janeiro-Turíngia (1852–1853)," *RBH* 23, no. 45 (2003): 155–184.

[48] Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, *Memória sobre meios de promover a colonisação* (Berlin: Typographia de Unger Irmãos, 1846), 8–10; *O Grito Nacional*, no. 326, 435, 565 (5 Nov. 1851, 22 Aug.1852, 26 June 26, 1853); Calmon, *Missão Especial*, 118–119.

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with baron Karl Ernst von Canitz, a veteran envoy to Istanbul and Vienna whose primary interests were to reconstitute a German Confederacy with Austria and treat all countries trading with the Zollverein on an equal footing.[49] Abrantes adapted by returning to negotiations with smaller states like Oldenburg, Hanover, and Belgium, while offering new incentives to von Canitz, including access to Paraguayan markets. But all this was to little effect. A new Sugar Duties Act approved in London in 1846 repealed the British Corn Laws and opened the way for phasing out sugar duties, including slave-grown, which also took the wind out of the Abrantes mission.

Geopolitical and commercial calculations shifted tremendously during Abrantes's travels, but colonization remained a bedrock concern whatever the outcome of the mission. In 1846, Abrantes published *Memória sobre meios de promover a colonização* in Berlin, a propagandist exposé peddling Brazil as a safe destination and borrowing ideas from the Frankfurt Geographical Society, regional gazettes, and European diplomats. This memória marked an important shift from Calmon's earlier focus on a single private company. Rather than rave about company-led colonization, even as the CCB's ex-president, Abrantes now advocated for government oversight, believing that companies could expedite government aims but required judicious oversight given their dysfunctional tendencies. Providing "free land concessions and other favors to Companies" was fine. But Abrantes cautioned against the "many catastrophes" of prior efforts, singling out "the spirit of speculation and profit, the waste of funds, patronage, and the conflicts and discords among Agents" as "vices inseparable from companies." Far from a mea culpa, the memória mentioned van Lede's Société as an example of a company employing "tricks and intrigues" that justified a more concerted "public protection and direction for emigrations."[50] Abrantes also referred to a disastrous recruitment drive that gave his mission one last but very meaningful objective, namely, to restore public trust in emigration to Brazil.

This disastrous drive, which I refer to as the Delrue affair, began on 17 June 1844 when Aureliano's provincial government commissioned an emigrant drive to the merchant house of Charles Delrue, Brazil's vice-consul in Dunkirk and the Paris agent for the Royal Mail Steam Packet

[49] Adolphus Ward, *Germany, 1815–1890. Vol. 1: 1815–1852* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916), 315, 346.
[50] Calmon, *Memória sobre meios*, 17, 23, 61.

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Company. Within months, the firm recruited 1,823 Germans and shipped them to Brazil via Ostende in 13 different voyages billed at 134:531$000 – almost two-and-a-half times the special loan obtained by the province to supply its annual budget for colonization and the Estrella roadworks.[51]

Irregularities immediately arose that revealed attempts by Delrue and his men to maximize their earnings. Delrue's agent Carlos [Charles] Haack reportedly paid the dues owed by one widowed colono who had helped his children escape from the depot at Estrela.[52] Haack also solicited a 5– to 6–league property under provincial law no. 226 of 30 May 1840, which authorized the president to grant lands, and asked for permission to transport colonos directly to the port nearest to his lands. He demanded exemptions from imports and land sale taxes and a property title to facilitate leasing parcels to colonos. These indiscretions paled in comparison to colonos' and officials' reports that Delrue's agents were double-billing by obtaining reimbursements from Rio's provincial government and charging colonos up to 60 francs before embarkation.[53] Doing this allowed Delrue to cut losses in the event of an unforeseen accident as befell one of the vessels, the *Marie*, which hit an Atlantic storm on its way to Rio but whose repairs Delrue's insurers refused to cover, alleging that their cost exceeded those needed to revamp the brig to its previous state (Delrue sued and won).[54]

Delrue's profiteering was germane to colonization, but Brazilian statesmen would not tolerate it this time. They suspended further contracts with Delrue and instructed Sturz to attack him as a scammer in the press. In a Cologne gazette, Sturz claimed Delrue had lured 700 emigrants to Dunkirk only to overcharge them. In response, Delrue cited lack of witnesses and dismissed Sturz as a jealous competitor and a failed emigration promoter. But a colono writing to the same newspaper later blamed Delrue for false promises and lamented the impact his schemes

[51] APERJ-PP, Obras Públicas-479, mç. 5 includes lists for barques *Agripina*, *Maria Luisa*, *June Lion*, *George*, *Marie Queen of Scotts* and brigs *Virginia*, *Marie*, *Leopold*, *Courieux*, *Daniel*, *Odin*, *Fynn*, and *Pampa*, all arriving by Dec. 1845; Aureliano, *Relatório do presidente da província RJ* (1844), table 11ss.

[52] APERJ-PP-479, mç. 5, Frôes to Aureliano (29 Oct. 1845); Secretaria-305, mç. 2, Haack to Aureliano.

[53] APERJ-PP, Secretaria-76, mç. 1, Prussia's Consul General in Rio de Janeiro Theremin to provincial president RJ Aureliano (20 Oct 1845); Secretaria-11, mç. 3, Foreign minister Joaquim Marcelino de Brito to provincial vice-president RJ (23 June 1846).

[54] *Memórial du commerce et de l'industrie* 2, no. 12 (1848): 74–76; *Gazette des Tribunaux*, no. 6396 (2 Jan. 1848).

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had on Petrópolis.[55] In truth, however, Petrópolis also fostered fraudulent practices, as major Koeler himself had appropriated lands titled to a colono in order to benefit a close friend.[56] Colono discontent against false promises and abuses manifested in growing unrest. Some housed in the Police quarters at Estrela inflicted "damages [to] the farm plots and crofts close to the city" and were swiftly shipped to the southern provinces. And, as jobs began to run short in Petrópolis, rivalries arose between German and Portuguese dayworkers in 1847.[57]

With the Delrue affair at least, the authorities made haste to contain the emergency. Aureliano's brother Saturnino personally housed many colonos. Provincial vice-president Cândido Baptista de Oliveira tried to find accommodations for them, housing some at the Police station, employing others in waterworks around the Court, and pushing the rest toward Petrópolis. He also repurposed the SPC's old depot in Rio, opened a new one in Niterói and in the Estrela port, and vigorously subcontracted for services for these locales, beginning with clean water providers.[58] Migrants drove some changes by actively demanding better conditions. Those still unemployed after a few months requested allowances to rent their own living quarters, as their debt grew daily as long as they stayed in government-run facilities. They also suggested payment plans by monthly installments, rather than on sight upon exit.[59]

Remarkably, other provinces reached for a Delrue contract even after the scandal. A São Paulo law in 1846 authorized the provincial president to contract Delrue directly, but the Conselho struck it down eight months later. Nonetheless, the incident gave the Vergueiros of São Paulo enough of a head start to enter negotiations with Hamburg senator Christian Mathias Schröder, who eventually became their colono recruiter. By March 1847, Schröder had readied 190 colonos to send to Santos,

[55] AHI-MDB-Berlin/Hamburg, 202/2/16 (28 Aug. 1846), with translation of the colono's letter from the "Gazeta de Colonia," no. 42 (11 Feb. 1847).

[56] APERJ-PP, Obras Públicas-0160, mç. 1, Petrópolis director Koeler to provincial vice-president RJ José Maria da Silva Paranhos (1 May 1847).

[57] APERJ-PP, Secretaria-0011, mç. 5, Brito to Aureliano (28 Sept., 7, 16 Oct. 1846); Koeler to Paranhos (7 July 1847); Petrópolis director Galdino Justiniano da Silva Pimentel to Aureliano (27 Oct. 1847).

[58] APERJ-PP, Obras Públicas-160, mç. 1, Estrela deposit manager Jose d'Abreu Frôes to Cândido Baptista (17 June, 5 Aug., 9 Sept. 1845). In August alone, Estrela received 1,000 colonos from five arriving vessels.

[59] APERJ-PP, Obras Públicas-160, mç. 1, Frôes to Cândido Baptista (4, 14 July, 20, 25 Aug. 1845); 4th District Chief Francisco José dos Reis Alporim to Cândido Baptista (19 Apr. 1845).

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jumpstarting the Vergueiros' colono-provisioning emporium, which centered in São Paulo but – contrary to the accepted narrative – had derived directly from Rio's colonization dealings and more specifically from the fallout of the Delrue affair.[60]

The Abrantes mission to London, Paris, and Berlin did not attain its objectives in part due to the difficulty inherent to negotiations, in part due to active British attempts to sabotage them. Nevertheless, Abrantes succeeded in spurring emigration at a key juncture before the 1848 revolutions. This propagandist push did come at a high price, as one of the resulting migrant conveyance schemes quickly devolved into a scam. The Delrue affair forced some Brazilian statesmen into an emergency response but at the same time inspired others to seek contracts with the same commercial house or other similar ones. In many ways, then, Abrantes and his pro-emigration campaigning propitiated a renewed colonization proposal rush by the end of the decade, which in turn exerted the necessary pressure for a Land Law approval at last.

PALATIAL RIPPLES IN THE BUSINESS OF COLONIZATION

When the projeto no. 94 resurfaced in the Senate in 1847, Bernardo de Vasconcelos poked fun at Nicolau Vergueiro's change of opinion since 1826. "Quantum mutatus ab illo! [how much (he) has changed]," he exclaimed, in reference to Vergueiro's recent support for "that city, or whatever they call it, of Petrópolis." But Vergueiro in fact had little sympathy for recent Rio-centered colonization initiatives. He claimed the province was "set on transporting as many miserable Germans as exist in Europe" to the detriment of private colonization pursuits.[61] Yet, in reality, Vergueiro was deeply indebted to the palatial drive for colonization, out of whose vestiges his own family fortunes rose steeply in 1847.

Disgruntled liberals were not the only ones opposing a palatial brand of colonization. Conservatives Rodrigues Torres, Araújo Viana, and Miranda Ribeiro tried to cut down on such efforts by motioning for the indefinite deferral of any colonization bill involving negotiations with

[60] Law no. 313 (16 Mar. 1846) in Carlos Prado Bacellar, et al., eds. *Repertório de legislação brasileira e paulista referente à imigração* (São Paulo: Unesp, 2008), 15; AN, Diversos-Conselho, cx. 509, pc. I, env. 1, doc. 14, "Parecer sobre leis de São Paulo promulgadas em 1846" (12 Nov. 1846); AHI-MDB-Berlin/Hamburg, 202/2/16 (28 Nov. 1846), Araújo to Silva Lisboa (28 Nov.1846, 30 Mar. 1847).

[61] 27 Aug., *AS* (1847), vol. 3, 441–444.

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companies until a land demarcation system was established.[62] Their success would have indeed constituted a "veto of the barons," as José Murilo de Carvalho referred to coffee planters' sabotaging of the eventual Land Law of 1850. But, by then, áulicos had succeeded in turning the tide in favor of colonization, spurring new plans that obligated remaining holdouts to finally approve a law gridlocked for a quarter century.

As Petrópolis began construction and Calmon finalized his mission, a trove of domestic proposals streamed in. In 1845, Joaquim José de Sequeira yet again advanced a proposal, this time for a Colonization Bank for Maranhão's cotton growers.[63] The following year, Eduardo Racine and Pedro Affonso de Carvalho floated a new company to establish a colony named after the prince Affonso Pedro, born in 1845. Affonsiada would house 6,000 German-speaking colonos while espousing recruitment practices opposed to "the most sordid and soulless avarice of certain commercial houses and ship captains." The Conselho turned down Affonsiada almost exactly as Pedro II's firstborn died, but similar enterprises carried on, including one led by the brothers Ottoni in Minas.[64] Concurrently, Brazilian intellectuals of different ages took to the pages of the *AIN*, with a younger generation of Auguste Comte readers like Frederico Leopoldo César Burlamaque and followers of traditional political economy like Carlos Augusto Taunay mulling how to "transition" from slave to free labor. Foreign minister Limpo de Abreu ordered his second-in-command, Joaquim Nascentes de Azambuja, to translate parts of Wakfield's *England and America* and distribute a thousand copies.[65] The "art of colonization," as its opening read, thus became an obligatory subject of reflection for skeptical politicians. The

[62] 30 July, *AS* (1847), vol. 2, 301–302. [63] *Treze de maio*, no. 476 (25 Jan. 1845).

[64] *ACD* (1846), vol. 2, 367–368; *Affonsiada. Colônia Agrícola e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Americana, 1846), 3–4; *O Progresso*, no. 34 (18 Feb. 1847); AN, Conselho-cód. 276, vol. 1, ff. 286–288, "Parecer on proposal from Eduardo Racine to establish a company for the introduction of 6,000 colonos" (26 Apr. 1847), ff. 286–288; Teófilo Benedito Ottoni and Honório Benedito Ottoni, *Condições para a encorporação de uma companhia de commércio e navegação do Rio Mucury, precedidas de uma exposição das vantagens da empreza* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1847); Law no. 332 (3 Apr. 1847), *Coleção leis mineiras*, vol. 13, pt. I (Ouro Preto: Tipografia Imparcial, 1847), 63–65.

[65] Frederico Leopoldo César Burlamaque [also spelled Burlamaqui], "Reflexões sobre a escravatura e colonisação no Brasil," *AIN*, no. 8 (Jan. 1848): 314–327; no. 9 (Feb. 1848): 355–371; Carlos A. Taunay, "Reflexões sobre a escravatura e colonisação," *AIN*, no. 11 (Apr. 1848): 447–454; Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *Colonisação. Artigo traduzido da obra England and America* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve, 1848), translated from

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pressure increased when they heard that the foreign companies that ran afoul in Brazil simply moved to more promising colonization settings: van Lede's Société had apparently decamped for Texas, and Delrue began shipping emigrants from Ostende to Oran while pursuing a contract with the Venezuelan government.[66]

The rise of the Hamburger Colonisations-Vereins (Hamburg Colonization Society, hereafter HCV) consequentially vindicated áulicos' activities and forcefully obligated their critics to fall in line. Emerging at a politically opportune moment of increasing emigration from Europe, the company's involvement with the royal household pre-empted opposition. The company emerged also unexpectedly and accidentally from áulicos' schemes and because it also implicated Vergueiro, it forced him to moderate his views. As mentioned above, with the collapse of the Delrue contract and São Paulo province's effort to take it over, Vergueiro hired Christian Mathias Schröder, a liberal banking scion who succeeded his father in the senate of the free Hanseatic city of Hamburg in 1821 and who approached Abrantes during his mission with a plan for an Association for the Protection of German Emigrants to Brazil.[67] As Vergueiro's agent, Schröder acquired necessary experience and ingratiated himself to palatial figures like Bento da Silva Lisboa and Saturnino in the successive cabinets of 1846–1847, which also briefly included Vergueiro.[68]

Meanwhile, Schröder found opportunity in the emigrations spurred by the political and military upheavals of 1848. The First Schleswig-Holstein

England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1833).

[66] Calmon, *Missão*, vol. 2, 216; Francisco de Salles Torres Homem, "Colonisação," *Minerva Brasiliense* 2, no. 15 (1 Jun. 1844): 448–451; *Correio Mercantil* (BA), no. 54 (24 Feb. 1848).

[67] Calmon, *Missão*; *Memória sobre os meios*; Luiz da Silva Ferreira, "Empresários alemães no sul do Brasil: a trajetória da Kolonisations-Verein von 1849 in Hamburg (1846–1855)," *História Econômica & História de Empresas* 23, no. 1 (2020): 165–196; Percy Ernst Schramm, "Hamburg-Brasilien: Die Forderung einer Dampferverbindung, 1854 verwirklicht: Ein Beitrag zum Problem: Privatinitiative-Regierungssubventionen," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 52, no. 1 (1965): 86–90.

[68] AHI-MDB-Berlin/Hamburg, 202/2/16, Araújo to Silva Lisboa (22 Oct., 28 Nov. 1846, 27 Feb., 30 Mar. 1847); Schröder to Araújo (19 Nov. 1846); Araújo to Foreign minister Saturnino de Souza Oliveira (7 Aug. 1847); Richard Roberts, *Schroders: Merchants and Bankers* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1992), 24–25; Matthew Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionism and Nationalism, 1848–1884* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 85–86; Youssef Cassis and Philip Cottrell, *Private Banking in Europe: Rise, Retreat, and Resurgence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 84–85.

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War between Denmark and Prussia displaced a great number of people while the February Revolution that toppled Louis-Philippe in France swept in from Paris and across German territories, propping up the liberal order of the new Frankfurt-based German Confederation. From 1848 onward, artisans began flocking from Silesia, Württemberg, the Grand Duchy of Posen, and other Prussian kingdoms to Texas, Guatemala, Chile, the United States, and New Holland. As numbers picked up, Dr. Schmidt publicized Brazil as a destination, sharing one colono's testimony in the free-trade weekly *Deutscher Freihafen*. Writing to relatives in Hesse-Darmstadt, the colono recounted the warm reception and light workload in Vergueiro's Limoeira plantation.[69]

This messaging instigating German emigrants prodded Hamburg's free-traders to imagine a robust commercial feedback loop powered by migration and Brazilian coffee. As Brazil's consul in Berlin, Sturz had already set the stage by drafting a prospectus for a Hamburg-Brazilian steamship line that was later taken up by leading Hamburg merchant and member of the Frankfurt National Assembly, Ernst von Merck. Furthermore, when Frankfurt eased taxes, it removed internal transport costs hobbling emigration; and when in 1848 it issued the "Fundamental Rights of the German People," a charter stipulating that "the liberty of emigrating cannot be limited by the state," the Assembly further propelled emigration, with entire guilds – from miners to weavers – weighing new destinations. The Brazilian chargé, Schmidt, called his superiors' attention to Hamburg's ascendancy as an outgoing port for migrations to Brazil and cautioned them regarding existing competition by flagging one "association of artisans" torn between Adelaide and São Leopoldo.[70] However, hopes for a robust emigration from Hamburg came crashing down when a reactionary wave overtook the 1848 revolutions and shuttered the Frankfurt Assembly.

By then, however, the prince of Joinville, whose father Louis-Phillipe d'Orléans was the leading target of the '48 revolutionaries, had placed his sights on Brazil. Married in 1842 to Pedro II's youngest sister, princess Francisca, the French prince had become co-proprietor of 25 square leagues

[69] AHI-MDB-Berlin/Hamburg, 202/2/17, Araújo to Foreign minister Olinda (30 Jan. 1849), with appended translations from *Deutscher Freihafen*, no. 41, 42 (Oct. 1848). On German migrations following 1848 revolutions, Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 17–52.

[70] AHI-MDB-Berlin/Hamburg, 202/2/17, Schmidt to Araújo (16, 25 Jan. 1849), Araújo to Olinda (30 Jan. 1849); "Les droits fondamentaux du peuple allemand," [27 Dec. 1848] *Journal de Francfort*, no. 10 (12 Jan. 1849).

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in Santa Catarina as part of his wife's dowry. The Joinvilles saw Schröder's plans in particular as an appealing proposal to make use of those lands, and so they chose Léonce Aubé, the French vice-consul in Santa Catarina, to lead negotiations on their behalf. In their view, Aubé's credentials as a graduate of the École Polytechinque, a Saint-Simonian hotbed responsible for renovating colonial policy in Algeria, qualified him perfectly for the task at hand.[71] On 16 March 1849, at the Château de Claremont in Surrey, where Louis Philippe and his family had exiled themselves, Aubé finalized a contract with Schröder in absentia, ceding eight square leagues to the company in addition to other rights unimaginable for enterprises with less prestigious patrons, including permission for vessels to disembark directly at the port of São Francisco close to the colony. Nonetheless, the contract heaped greater responsibilities on Schröder than on the Joinvilles, who could void it at will and would only respond to any feud through arbitration.[72]

Because the contract involved a member of the Brazilian royal household, the Conselho de Estado had to vet it. By the end of 1849, the Conselho's Empire and Treasury sections heard a request from the Joinvilles for special favors for the projected colony, including anchorage and consumption tax exemptions; naturalization of colonos per the Decree of 7 September 1846, which conferred citizenship immediately on a voluntary basis; exemption of military duties for a decade; funds for a Catholic and a Protestant priest; guarantees on freedom of cult; authorization to prohibit slavery and to validate colono contracts; freedom for its customs house to engage directly with foreign ports; and municipal institutions such as those found in Petrópolis. Olinda, Abrantes, and one other conselheiro sanctioned requests regarding duties and resolved other issues by reference to existing legislation – foreigners were already barred from serving in the military and the 1837 lei de locação de serviços applied to contracts. The conselheiros, however, took issue with the proposed "burgomasters" and the "extraordinary novelty" of requesting funds for a Protestant pastor.[73]

In a separate opinion, Vasconcelos rebuked his colleagues' support for the company and underlined the futility of colonization by referring to

[71] Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity*; Léonce Aubé, "Notice sur la province de Sainte-Catherine (Brésil)," *Révue Coloniale* 11 (Apr. 1847): 331–412.

[72] IHGB-(o), Lata 216-doc. 21, "Documentos relativos à ... pro memória para o visconde de Olinda do agente procurador da Sociedade Colonizadora Hamburguesa sobre a importação de colonos."

[73] AN, Conselho-cód. 276, vol. 1, Consulta (4 Dec. 1849); cód. 49, vol. 4, Parecer (4 Dec. 1849), ff. 71–76r; Decree no. 397 (3 Sept.), *CLIB*, vol. 1 (1846), 63.

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Cuba's booming sugar industry, which depended on the continuing slave trade rather than a robust Canary-island colono trade. By "caressing" such companies, Vasconcelos claimed, the Conselho made Brazilians inferior to foreigners, especially given the proponents' scandalous requests, which amounted to a desire to live in a country of their own. Chastising the HCV as a profit-seeking enterprise, he concluded that a company like this was exclusively concerned with "its pecuniary interest," hitting the target of the company's true raison d'être.[74]

Notwithstanding Vasconcelos's scathing (if accurate) remarks, the HCV cleared the Conselho and obtained the Chamber's and the emperor's approval in early 1850, forcing even Vasconcelos to moderate his view. As if capitulating, he declared, "let in as many colonos as can come to Brazil" – though never, he added, at the treasury's expense.[75] A decree officializing the contract in May pressured Brazilian lawmakers to hasten discussion on the land and colonization bill, and by the time Abrantes rose to defend it, hardly any of his colleagues would have dared defy the royal household's colonization designs.[76]

Brazilian lawmakers buckled under an imperial authority expanded and channeled by palatial statesmen and finally passed the Land Law in September 1850. Shortly after, Schröder arranged his first shipment of about 118 Swiss and German colonos who departed aboard the *Colon* for Santa Catarina. In 1851, these were joined at the colony by an expedition of Norwegian Gold Rushers who had financed their own voyage to California but got stuck in Brazil when their ship arrived in unseaworthy conditions. Schröder welcomed them with a banquet where Norwegians, Swiss, and Germans intoned victorious war songs like "Schleswig-Holstein" into the night.[77]

* * *

In the years ahead, the Dona Francisca colony grew substantially. The HCV board requested further favors, including permission for colono vessels to load with salt, coal, and lumber to be sold in other Brazilian ports before returning to Hamburg with Brazilian goods. The Conselho

[74] AN, Conselho-cód. 49, vol. 4, Parecer by Vasconcelos (11 Dec. 1849), ff. 496–503.
[75] 24 Jan., *AS* (1850), vol. 1, 166.
[76] Miguel Calmon, "Discurso proferido pelo Exm. Sr. Visconde de Abrantes," *AIN*, no. 3 (Aug 1850): 81–104.
[77] Decree no. 537 (15 May), *CLIB* (1850), vol. 1, 23; AHI-MDB-Berlin/Hamburg, 202/2/17, Araújo to Paulino (12 Sept. 1850), Schröder to Araújo (31 Oct. 1850); Ellen Woortman, "From Adventurers to Settlers: Norwegians in Southern Brazil," in *Expectations Unfulfilled: Norwegian Migrants in Latin America, 1820–1940*, ed. Steinar Sæther (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 57–76.

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refused. But by 1853, a collective calling itself the "Communal Council" of Dona Francisca asked the provincial president to recognize the colony as a Commune and allow local elections. When the consultation reached the Conselho, Olinda and two other conselheiros relented, suggesting that perhaps a district council that translated all its laws to French would be feasible.[78] By then, the HCV had settled 1,100 of the 1,500 projected colonos. After successfully renewing its contract and obtaining repeated deferrals for its colono quotas, by 1888 the company brought 17,408 settlers to Santa Catarina.[79] This outcome reflected the favors enjoyed by the HCV, which had been sanctioned by the Conselho but were regularized and institutionalized by the Land Law of 1850 and the company-friendly ordinance for its execution in 1854. But the Land Law was not simply a precedent that made this royal colony possible. Rather, it too was the result of the activities of busy palatial figures who previously carried colonization to the center of imperial policymaking and set out the conditions for the company to come into existence in the first place.

The fate of colonization as a business sphere overseen closely by government was decided by 1845 more than with the Land Law of 1850. Indeed, by 1845, Olinda began to perfect his views in the Conselho and then advanced a pathbreaking ordinance to aid emigration. Aureliano brought Petrópolis to life. Calmon negotiated with Prussia and contributed to new emigration waves to Brazil. Surely, none of these endeavors worked to perfection, as each attempted to respond to often intractable diplomatic and political conditions. Yet, in the midst of the violent back-and-forths between liberal and conservative administrations that characterized the first decade of Pedro II's reign, áulicos charted a different path, relying on colonization to confer uniformity upon the Empire's laws and to orchestrate state-sponsored efforts meant to model the possibilities of colonization endeavors, which were seen as abetting a bold new Brazilian diplomacy. Áulicos skillfully and consequentially outlined the vision for a private but regulated colonization that ultimately crystalized in the law. And companies helped them forge that vision.

[78] AN, Conselho-cód. 276, vol. 2, Parecer (29 Jan. 1851), ff. 76–79r; vol. 3, Parecer (3 May 1853), ff. 88–92r.

[79] IHGB, Lata 216-doc. 21; Klaus Ritcher, *A sociedade colonizadora hanseática e a colonização do interior de Joinville e Blumenau* (Florianópolis: Editora da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 1986), 13–15.

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5

Brazil's Great Transformation

The mid-century mark witnessed great transformations in the Brazilian Empire. A Commercial Code, a definitive slave trade ban, and a Land Law approved in short consecutive order between June and September 1850 ostensibly set the country on a path to prosperity.[1] In the historical imagination, this legal triad jumpstarted a labor transition that replaced the primacy of slave property with the primacy of land, aligned Brazil with international markets, and gave the definitive salvo for the rise of coffee as a leading commodity. But, upon a closer look, colonization complicates this picture. Colonization acquired myriad uses according to the interests of the many actors pursuing it. Its elasticity calls into question its purported role as a key factor contributing to a consolidation of market forces and the rise of "free labor" at this time. Brazil's transformation into a market society may have occurred eventually after 1850 but not for the reasons nor under the conditions presumed by grand narratives of a structural labor substitution triggered automatically by the end of the slave trade. The state was indeed central to economic transformations, as scholars have confirmed.[2] But colonization raises further qualms.

Because colonization responded to different agendas, the phenomenon also interrogates any direct correspondence between the Brazilian state's

[1] I am loosely borrowing from Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001 [1944]), particularly from his discussion on the rise of ficticious commodities.

[2] See, for instance, the wealth of work on the "second slavery" in Brazil, including the essays in Mariana Muaze and Ricardo Salles, eds., *A segunda escravidão e o Império do Brasil em perspectiva histórica* (São Leopoldo: Casa Leiria, 2020).

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imperatives and the necessities of its leading coffee elites. As some scholars have provocatively noted, up to 1850 the maxim held true that "the more capital in coffee, the more political capital."[3] Indeed, planters associated to the bourgeoning plantation world of the Paraíba River Valley saw their political power grow in lockstep with their fortunes. But the rifts that followed after 1850 between the Brazilian state and these slaveholding interests suggest that the latter did not entirely hold the imperial apparatus in their thrall. Colonization helps to illuminate that misalignment, not because the promise of labor substitution did not materialize in some ways but because its many uses pointed to a complex interplay of interests that went beyond planters' expectations.[4]

Colonization indexed the divergent needs of planters and government in part thanks to the expansion of its meanings and uses brought about by the 1850s statutes. The new laws offered greater access to shareholding and established incorporation parameters beneficial to colonization enterprises, primed colonization as the most favorable means to compensate for an impending labor shortage, and empowered private companies (*empresas particulares*) to partake in an emergent landed property market.[5] However, while these developments may be seen as key to the transition away from the illegal slave trade and the accommodation of conservative planters' priorities, colonization's expanded sphere of action in fact contributed to the transformation of Brazil into a market society by interrupting rather than facilitating a smooth transition from enslaved to free labor during most of this decade.

[3] Bruno Fabris Estefanes, Alain El Youssef, and Tâmis Parron, "O Vale expandido: Contrabando negreiro e a construção de uma dinâmica política nacional no Império do Brasil," *Almanack* 7, no. 1 (2014): 158.

[4] For important and varied examinations of conservative elites and the Brazilian state, see Ilmar Rohloff de Mattos, *O tempo saquarema: A formação do Estado Imperial* (Rio de Janeiro: Access, 1999); Jeffrey Needell, *The Party of Order: The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831–1871* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Tâmis Parron, *A política da escravidão no Império do Brasil, 1826–1865* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011; Ricardo Henrique Salles, "O Império do Brasil no contexto do século XIX: Escravidão nacional, classe senhorial e intelectuais na formação do estado," *Almanack* 4, no. 2 (2012): 5–45.

[5] On the Land Law, see Warren Dean, "Latifundia and Land Policy in Nineteenth-Century Brazil," *HAHR* 51, no. 4 (1971): 606–625; Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); José Murilo de Carvalho, "A modernização frustrada: A política de terras no império," *RBH* 1, no. 1 (1981): 39–57; Lígia Osorio Silva, *Terras devolutas e latifúndio: Efeitos da lei de 1850* (Campinas: Unicamp, 1996); Márcia Motta, *Nas fronteiras do poder: Conflito e direito à terra no Brasil do século XIX* (Niterói: EdUFF, 2008); Decree no. 1318 (30 Jan. 1854), Section III, art. 27, *CLIB* (1854), vol. 2, 10–28.

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To begin with, furtive slave trading carried on despite its ban, and often resorted to colonization as cover. Moreover, captured traffickers also began to embrace colonization to launder their reputations and in doing so further muddled the separation between the two activities. More sincere efforts to do away with slave trafficking found their grounding in an initially promising association, the Sociedade contra o Tráfico de Africanos e Promotora da Colonização e da Civilização dos Indígenas (Society for the End of the African Slave Trade and for the Promotion of Colonization and the Civilization of Indians, SCT). However, the SCT was ill-prepared to orchestrate a shift toward free labor. Its inconsistent agenda and an underwhelming single effort to conduct a colonization project of its own dulled is capacity to make a significant impact on a labor transition. Further complicating the relationship between slavery and colonization, a number of Paraíba Valley planters also took on experiments of their own, many of which were of considerable scale. All the while, however, their property in enslaved persons continued to grow in their plantations, which suggests that their embrace of colonization responded more to a desire to resolve the recurrent food scarcity crises that bedeviled this monocrop region.

The imperial state showed interest in planters' colonization efforts in Rio de Janeiro and beyond but only up to a point. After Nicolau Vergueiro launched his notorious colonization enterprise in São Paulo in 1847, central government authorities ignored his family firm's pleas for contracts. The Brazilian Empire, after all, had other concerns, concerns that colonization responded and adapted to. When Brazil sought to establish regional dominance through war, even the hardened conservatives of the Party of Order resorted to long-practiced mercenary recruitments in German territories to bring down the Argentine Confederation's Juan Manuel de Rosas. Moreover, Brazilian victory in the Platine War later opened the way for new military colonies.[6] Authorities also showed interest in bolstering colonization proposals benefiting other regions of the Empire. Eventually, rather than directly aid coffee planters, they opted to experiment with the importation of Chinese workers in an attempt to revive the sagging sugar economy in the northeast and parts of Rio de Janeiro province.

[6] On the Platine War, see Jeffrey Needell, "The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade in 1850: Historiography, Slave Agency and Statesmanship," *JLAS* 33, no. 4 (2001): 708–709, and *Party of Order*, 151–160.

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To be sure, I do not wish to advance a theoretical point about historical capitalism where others have already pursued fruitful polemics.[7] Instead, I wish to highlight how a closer historical consideration of colonization fundamentally unsettles narratives propounded on the co-equation of elite interests and the state, particularly around the issue of slavery. Colonization bifurcated government interests and the needs of Brazil's wealthiest groups, demonstrating a concern exclusive to the state of handling the Empire-wide liabilities wrought by market forces and their geopolitical tensions. And, yet, rather than replace the slave trade or slavery in the Empire's most productive coffee regions, oftentimes colonization contributed to the continuation of slave-based dynamics. Hence, Brazil's great transformation into a market society hinged on colonization not so much as a labor transition device but as a means to multiple, often contradictory ends. This dynamic resulted in important transformations in the role of the Brazilian state and ultimately forced the government to step back from the immediate interests of coffee elites and to adopt the role of arbiter, rather than executor, of migratory, labor-provision, and peopling processes.

TRAFFICKING AND THE COLONO TRADE AFTER 1850

Secretive slave landings on Brazilian soil continued after 1850. Ingenious stratagems allowed trafficking to live on, including contrabandists relying on the guise of the colono trade to cloak their real activities. For this reason, the ordinance implementing the slave trade ban required colono-trading vessels to obtain authorization from the Auditor General of the Navy before leaving port. In late 1852, for instance, the Auditor General vouched for Brazilian brigantine *Amizade*, which was carrying a number of tin plates, bread trays, and water barrels in such quantities as would raise suspicions of slave trafficking. Yet, as other vessels claimed to do, the *Amizade* was in fact heading to the Azores to board colonos.[8] In 1853, the owner of Brazilian galley *Sophia* similarly tried to convince the Navy Auditor that he was strictly transporting "colonos and passengers from

[7] Rafael Marquese, "As desventuras de um conceito: Capitalismo histórico e a historiografia da escravidão brasileira," *Revista de História* 169 (2013): 223–253.

[8] *DRJ*, nos. 9123, 9182 (11 Oct., 11 Dec. 1852); Decree no. 708 (14 Oct.), *CLIB* (1850), vol. 3, 158–169; Daniela de Moraes, "A capital do comendador: A Auditoria Geral da Marinha no julgamento sobre a liberdade dos africanos apreendidos na Ilha da Marambaia (1851)" (MA thesis, UFRJ, 2009).

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the Azores," when in fact nothing kept these ships from heading to less policed slaving ports upon hitting the high seas.[9]

Ship captains also reprised old stratagems linked to colonization to circumvent the ban on slave trading. When British minister Henry Southern transferred from Buenos Aires in 1851, he discovered that coasting vessels were transporting enslaved Africans from Rio Grande do Sul to Rio as passengers with "fraudulent passports." One of the famous contrabandist Manoel Pinto da Fonseca's long-haul trafficking vessels, the *Palmeira*, joined others in claiming the Río de la Plata and southern Brazil as destination on their return trips from Africa in order to blend into the nautical transit to and from the region's foreign colonies.[10]

In many instances, slavers engaged in the colono trade – at least on paper – but only after they were captured. When Portuguese brig *Audaz* was intercepted offloading 600 Africans in Santa Catarina, its owners, the Ferreiras da Saúde, retrofitted it for the Azorean colono trade even as a liberal newspaper called them out on their ploy. The brig was rechristened *Colonisador* and equipped with food rations customarily used in the slave trade. Time would tell: if the vessel returned to Brazilian ports within five months, the press announcing its departure would prove correct. A longer travel time would otherwise indicate a voyage to Africa and from thence to Havana, signaling that, for planters and merchants, the slave and colono trades existed on a spectrum of opportunity, along which they could choose to partake in one or the other.[11]

On an individual level, traffickers also resorted to colonization to strategically cover up their misdeeds and in doing so further blurred the line between the slave and colono trades. One of the most illustrative examples is that of Bahian planter Higino Pires Gomes. On 29 October

[9] AN, GIFI-5B-207, José Carlos d'Almeida Santos to Justice minister (4 May 1853); *JC*, nos. 110, 117, 121 (21, 28 Apr., 2 May 1853).

[10] NAk, F.O. 84/879, British minister at Rio Henry Southern to Justice minister Paulino José Soares de Sousa (24 June, 16 July 1852); AN, Justiça-IJ[1]998, Paulino to Eusébio de Queirós (3 Feb. 1852); general consul in Sardinia and Tuscany Ernesto Antonio de Souza Leconte to Foreign minister Paulino (26 Nov. 1851); Henry Southern to Paulino (10 Sept. 1852); Paulino to Justice minister José Ildefonso de Souza Ramos (14 May, 10, 14 Aug., 13 Sept., 28 Oct. 1852); Alex Borucki, "The 'African Colonists' of Montevideo: New Light on the Illegal Slave Trade to Rio de Janeiro and the Rio de la Plata (1830–1842)," *Slavery and Abolition* 30, no. 3 (2009): 427–444. On slave contraband after 1850, see Leonardo Marques, *The United States and the Transatlantic Slave Trade to the Americas, 1776–1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 139–184.

[11] *O Grito Nacional*, no. 326 (5 Nov. 1851). On the "final triangle" of the illegal slave trade, see John Harris, *The Last Slave Ships: New York and the End of the Middle Passage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).

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1851, the Sardinian-flagged schooner *Relâmpago* arrived in Bahia from Onim (Lagos) on his orders with a shipment of up to 500 enslaved Africans destined to his fazenda Pontinha on the southern loop of the Recôncavo. The Brazilian navy caught on to its arrival and pursued it. The *Relâmpago* threw anchor near the mouth of river Jaguaripe and hastily rushed the enslaved to swim to shore. At least a dozen of the enslaved drowned. As Higino's nephew took survivors inland, navy officers inspected the vestiges of disembarkation and rescued 49 Africans who had managed to hide in the brush – five of whom passed away. Police chief João Maurício Wanderley arrived at Pontinha the next morning, arrested Higino, and rescued 229 Africans.[12]

Higino contested his charges, as he had done with prior accusations of embezzlement when he served as lieutenant colonel for the Sabinada rebels. And, in the end, two judges from Bahia's higher court overturned his conviction due to lack of proof of his involvement and the alleged unreliability of slaves' testimonies. Notably, the Conselho de Estado reversed the decision and suspended its judges for "prevarications."[13] Still, Higino dodged prosecution. And as soon as he walked free, he turned to colonization activities to rebuild his reputation. In 1857, he submitted a grand colonization proposal to then prime minister marquês de Olinda, arguing that "the absolute dearth of labor ... is one of the most urgent and imperious needs of the northern provinces." Portraying himself as a champion of *núcleos de colonização* (colonization nuclei), Higino called for *bancos da lavoura* (rural banks) to furnish low-interest credit and nobiliary titles for colonization empresarios according to the number of colonos they settled. Higino completed his radical about-face from unrepentant slave trader to colonization empresario when he finalized a contract with Bahia's government to import 1,000 European colonos. By 1858, he was hosting a banquet for the local police chief and also offered formal toasts to the previous one, Francisco Gonçalves

[12] *Correio Sergipense*, no. 90 (13 Dec. 1851); *Correio Mercantil*, no. 10 (10 Jan. 1852); Pierre Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1968), 432–437. Higino's name varies as Higinio, Hygino, and Hyginio.

[13] *O Philantropo*, no. 134 (30 Apr. 1852); AN, Justiça-IJ[1]999, Confidential from Limpo de Abreu to José Nabuco de Araújo (15 Sept. 1853); IHGB-(0), Lata 206-doc. 26, Limpo de Abreu, visconde de Paraná, and Caetano Maria Lopes Gama, "Parecer ... no processo formado contra Higino Pires Gomes e seus escravos (Bahia) por cumplicidade no crime de importação de africanos livres" (21 Aug. 1852); Atas do Conselho de Estado Pleno, "Ata de 6 Sept. 1852," 55–61; *Correio Mercantil*, no. 252 (9 Oct. 1850).

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Martins, also a colonization empresario hopeful. Slave traffickers and the authorities responsible for their capture now sat at the same table.[14]

Traffickers elsewhere also reinvented themselves as colonization stalwarts like Higino. In 1851, Rio police chief Bernardo Nascentes de Azambuja (a soon-to-be colonization empresario himself, see Chapter 6) raided one of the properties on Marambaia island, west of Rio, owned by a renown planter. Yet the suspected trafficker, Joaquim José de Souza Breves, had also been a member of the SPC back in 1836. Soon after the raid, Souza Breves pivoted toward colonization without relinquishing his property in slaves. Whereas it is not known whether he also stopped trafficking, what is known is that in 1854 he imported 255 colonos from Madeira.[15]

Cases of contrabandists with prior connections to colonization also came up. In Sirinhaém, Pernambuco, an illegal slave shipment landed allegedly by error near the plantation of police delegate Gaspar Vasconcelos de Drummond – brother to the diplomat Antônio Menezes of the CCB (Chapter 3). Yet Drummond failed to alert authorities and mobilize forces to apprehend the traffickers before they fled with many enslaved Africans in tow. Even though he did recuse the ship and the 165 Africans left behind, he later faced accusations of negligence and possible compliance at the Tribunal da Relação. In an effort to clear his name, he published a personal account of the events and a trove of official documents demonstrating his innocence. But his reputation was tainted by a small detail: his son, who had come to his aid that day, kept some of the Africans they "rescued," perhaps to compensate for the slaves he had recently lost to cholera.[16] The actions of Drummond, together with Souza Breves, Higino, and the countless captains who pretended to sail for the Azores or return from Río de la Plata with colonos demonstrate not simply that the slave trade continued after 1850 but that it did so under

[14] IHGB-(0), Lata 208-pasta 46, Higino Pires Gomes (9 July 1857); Álvaro Riberio de Moncorvo e Lima, *Relatório do presidente da província BA* (1856), 79–80; *Correio Mercantil*, no. 314 (20 Nov. 1858); Thiago Campos Pessoa, *O império da escravidão: O complexo Breves no vale do café (Rio de Janeiro, c. 1850–c.1888)* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 2018), 138–140.

[15] Campos Pessoa, *O império da escravidão*, 113–143.

[16] Gaspar Menezes Vasconcellos de Drummond, *Breve exposição acerca dos factos occorridos antes, e depois da apprehensão dos africanos effectuada na barra de Serinhãem em outubro de 1855* (Recife: Typographia Universal, 1856); Marcus J. M. de Carvalho and Paulo Fontes Cadena, "A política como 'arte de matar vergonha': O desembarque de Sirinhaém em 1855 e os últimos anos do tráfico para o Brasil," *Topoi* 20, no. 42 (2019): 651–677.

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the guise of the colono trade, that is, the very same commerce meant to replace it. Furthermore, this dynamic offered unrepentant traffickers a chance to reinvent themselves and continue making fortunes by partaking in colonization, support for which, as Drummond's case showed, did not preclude willing participation in illegal slave landings.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FURTIVE TRADE AND GRASSROOTS COLONIZATION

Abolitionists in turn mobilized against the illegal slave trade by coalescing around *O Philantropo*, a newspaper founded in 1849 and partly bankrolled by Britain's Secret Service Fund.[17] Only four days before the enactment of the anti-slave trade law, the *Philanthropo*'s activists received official approval to establish the Sociedade contra o Tráfico (SCT) and set their sights on the die-hard furtive slave trade.[18] As a new civic organization, the SCT adopted organizational principles similar to those of colonization companies but functioned more like a lobby or interest group. As such, it clustered family, intellectual, and commercial networks bridging past and prospective colonization endeavors. Its varied, if odd, membership included Sirinhaém's Drummond as well as liberals long defending colonization such as Bernardo de Souza Franco, Teófilo Ottoni, and Alves Branco. Members also featured a younger guard, including playwright Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, who later criticized colonization's transformation into a rapacious business pursuit (see Introduction). British ambassador James Hudson, who provided funds for *O Philanthropo*, was a member, as was the Hamburger Colonisations-Verein's Christian Schröder (Chapter 4). The SCT also contained strange bedfellows, grouping a palatial figure such as CCB president Miguel Calmon (Chapter 3), now visconde de Abrantes, with radicals from the Regency like editor Ezequiel Corrêa dos Santos and Inocêncio da Rocha Galvão, the vice-president in exile of the Sabinada rebels of 1837.[19]

[17] *O Philantropo*, no. 1 (6 Apr. 1849); Beatriz Mamigonian, *Africanos livres: A abolição do tráfico de escravos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2017), 230–250, 278–283.

[18] *O Philantropo*, no. 75 (6 Sept. 1850); Kaori Kodama, "Os debates pelo fim do tráfico no periódico *O Philantropo* (1849–1852) e a formação do povo: Doenças, raça e escravidão," *RBH* 28, no. 56 (2008): 407–430.

[19] *O Philantropo*, nos. 79, 80, 85 (4, 11 Oct., 15 Nov. 1850).

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Due to its heterogeneous composition, the SCT did not fully articulate a coherent agenda. Its ultimate contribution was to reify an understanding that free labor would soon substitute slavery. Taking to the pages of other publications besides the *Philanthropo*, one SCT member extolled free work as the key to future prosperity, feeding the notion that enslaved and colono populations would gradually evolve in inverse proportion to one another.[20] Under Abrantes's presidency, the SAIN and its journal, edited by another SCT member, amplified the SCT's free-work gospel. A month before the approval of the Land Law, the *AIN* published Abrantes's own Senate speech regarding land sales and population growth in the United States, potential Brazilian adaptations of the Wakefield system from Australia, and "indirect means" to promote migrations beyond government subsidies.[21] Purposefully less erudite, SCT members' *AIN* pieces focused on more immediate issues to get fazendeiros' attention, predicated on agricultural schools and free work's greater return on investment over slavery.[22] SCT activist Burlamaque even lavished praise on a Paraíba planter who hired Azoreans, calculating that each would produce twice as much as an enslaved person. He also emphasized that a colono's death was 90 percent less costly than losing an enslaved worker.[23]

Beyond persuading the public mind that colonization would soon fill in for slavery, the SCT curtailed its potential impact in numerous ways. Like other colonization endeavors, the SCT placed a premium on profit-oriented proposals. But unlike other colonization enterprises, its ideas constituted a jumbled policy platform that at times even catered too closely to slaveholders' imaginaries, as when it explored the removal of enslaved persons to Africa. Indeed, the journal frequently engaged with the topic of Liberia, beginning with a piece on "African colonies" translated from the Scottish journal *Chambers's Information for the People*. *O Philantropo* made clear its support for the removal of liberated

[20] Antônio do Valle Caldre e Fião, "A substituição dos braços escravos pelos livres," *AIN* 4, no. 7 (Dec. 1849): 233–252; 5, no. 8 (Jan. 1850): 273–283; "Indústria agrícola e rural," *AIN* 5, no. 8 (Jan. 1851): 281–289; Frederico Burlamaque, "Trabalho livre," *AIN* 6, no. 1 (July 1851): 6–14.

[21] "Discurso proferido pelo Exm. Sr. Visconde de Abrantes, na sessão do senado de 3 do corrente, por occasião da discussão sobre terras devolutas e colonisação," *AIN* 6, no. 3 (Aug. 1850): 81–104.

[22] M. J. de Coelho, "Algumas reflexões sobre a emigração e colonos para o Brasil," *AIN* 5, no. 10 (Mar. 1850): 360–369; *O Philantropo*, no. 58 (10 May 1850).

[23] "A repressão do tráfico e a colonização," *AIN* 5, no. 12 (May 1851): 452–455; Burlamaque, "Trabalho livre."

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Africans to Liberia on the basis of the "moralization of the races" and even went on to insist on the need for the Brazilian Empire to establish a colony similar to Liberia in Cabo Negro, since its location near the Angolan port city of Namibe (rechristened by the Portuguese as the colony of Moçâmedes in 1840) lay beyond Portuguese authority and could be purchased from "indigenous Africans." That Brazil sent its first diplomatic envoy to Liberia on a fact-finding mission in 1851 suggests that this was not an idle proposal.[24]

O Philantropo crammed together other contradictory ideas that precluded a clear colonization agenda of any particular kind. Its pages announced a new society called the Gymnásio Brasileiro advocating for "agricultural establishments" like Hofwil that blended an agricultural school for boys and a model plantation for unhoused people. They also published Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira's writings on the education of industrial classes, which evoked the utopianism of Robert Owen, Henri Saint-Simon, or Charles Fourier rather than a project to substitute slaves.[25] The journal focused haphazardly on agriculture or military colonies as the destination of either national or foreign colonos, showing a broad and undefined commitment to colonizing endeavors.

Ultimately, it fell upon the SCT's colonization commission, composed of Bento da Silva Lisboa (barão de Cairu) and Ignácio da Cunha Galvão, to consolidate scattershot ideas into a proposal with staying power. Collecting three major proposals including their own and that of the

[24] *O Philantropo*, nos. 5, 9, 16, 80, 94 (4 May, 1 June, 20 July 1849, 11 Oct. 1850, 17 Jan. 1851); *DRJ*, no. 8550 (16 Nov. 1850); AN, Diversos-cód. 807, vol. 7, ff. 40–75, [Hermenegildo Frederico Niterói], "Notícia sobre a República da Libéria," (1852–1853). On Moçâmedes and its Brazilian connections, see Filomena Cabral, *Mar salgado: Pernambuco, Moçâmedes, Lisboa, Angola, séculos XIX/XX* (Algés: Difusão Editorial, 2002); Laila Brichta, "Economía y actividad pesquera en el Atlántico sur: El caso de Moçâmedes en el siglo XIX," *Almanack* 21 (2019): 273–309; Maria Luiza Ferreira Oliveira, "Dimensões do governo colonial em Moçâmedes e suas conexões com o Brasil: Trabalho, negócios e conflitos, 1840–1860," *Revista Mundos de Trabalho*, no. 12 (2020): 1–27. On Brazil's diplomacy in Africa, see Gilberto da Silva Guizelin, *Dois cônsules de sua Majestade Imperial em Luanda (1822–1861): Relações Brasil-Angola, de Rui Germack Possolo a Saturnino de Sousa e Oliveira* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2022).

[25] *O Philantropo*, nos. 63, 72 (14 June, 16 Aug. 1850), "O projecto sobre estabelecimentos agrícolas formulado pela commissão ad hoc do Gymnasio Brasileiro," "Projecto de um estabelecimento agrícola que se deve fundar no município neutro, com os capitaes de uma companhia"; Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, "Variedades," *AIN* 5, no. 12 (May 1850): 455–460.

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Gymnásio, Cairu and Galvão produced a report in 1852.[26] Their ideas funneled into an SCT pamphlet that remains the association's primary and, besides the *Philanthropo*, almost exclusive contribution to colonization debates. The booklet advocated for the gradual extinction of slavery by importing free laborers from abroad to work, on the one hand, in urban services and, on the other hand, in agriculture. To accomplish this, the SCT called for the construction of a reception center for foreign colonos and the establishment of a government dependency in charge of keeping a registry of migrant arrivals and contracts.[27]

Also in 1852, the SCT's most concrete attainment materialized in a modest colony it sponsored in partnership with a small-time fazendeiro in Campos – and even this yielded unimpressive results. A 45-year-old native of Leiria, Portugal, Eugênio Aprígio da Veiga had established a mixed foreign-national colony christened Valão dos Veados in 1847. As the firstborn of a late Supreme Court minister, Aprígio obtained the post of second lieutenant in the Imperial Navy and an appointment in 1835 as consul to Angola. Yet, when Luso-Brazilian diplomatic impasses foiled his consulship and his father retired and later passed away in 1843, Aprígio's career took a downward turn.[28] Still, in 1845 he signed a government contract to import colonos to Valão dos Veados, which he organized as a private colony based on land-leasing rather than parceria (sharecropping) by the time the initial contingent of 108 mostly Azorean colonos settled down in 1847.[29] Drought in the early months of 1848 landed Aprígio 8:300$000 in government aid, a fraction of the 33:000$000 he had personally invested in the colony. But as the colony grew to 207 by 1851, he failed to acquire further help or indemnities for losses, as the Conselho and the Chamber rejected his requests.[30] And then the SCT stepped in.

[26] *O Philantropo*, nos, 81, 87, 91, 93, 95, 101 (18 Oct., 29 Nov., 27 Dec. 1850, 10, 24 Jan., 7 Mar. 1851).

[27] SCT, *Systhema de medidas adoptáveis para a progressiva e total extincção do tráfico e da escravatura no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Philanthropo, 1852).

[28] Guizelin, "Depois dos navios negreiros," 136–155. Aprígio requested a reimbursement from the Brazilian treasury for the duties he paid for the appointment but was turned down. 27 June, *ACD* (1835), vol. 1, 213.

[29] Maria Isabel Chrysostomo, "Os colonos franceses da colônia Valão dos Veados – 1845–1854," in *Franceses no Brasil: Séculos XIX–XX*, ed. Tânia de Luca and Laurent Vidal (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2009), 321–342.

[30] APERJ-Secretaria 304, mç. 4, "Relação dos colonos despachados … para a Colônia Agrícola fundada por Eugênio Aprígio da Veiga" (10 Oct. 1849); João Pereira Darrigue Faro, *Relatório do presidente da província RJ* (1851), 38.

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SCT activities had a mixed record in the years after the formal extinction of the slave trade. Nevertheless, its members amassed profitable opportunities departing from the Valão dos Veados experience. Aprígio incorporated his colony as an association in 1852 and brought in the SCT, of which he was a member, to help turn his fazenda into a model colony. Valão dos Veados did well under the new direction, with Nicolau Rodrigues dos Santos França Leite, a founding member of the Ordem dos Advogados (Lawyers Guild), as president, Manoel da Cunha Galvão (Ignácio's brother) as secretary, and Caetano Alberto Soares as adjunct director of the company board. By 1853, it had grown to 305 colonos, who owed the company 4:720$000 in travel costs alone. As the colony surged to 414 the following year, França Leite asked the government to allow his colonos to disembark directly at Campos in order to cut the cost of transport from the Court.[31] Though frequently unsuccessful, these negotiations delivered personal benefits – França Leite obtained a 50-contos government loan in 1856 to set up his own colony in the Rio Doce valley, which he named Fransilvânia. And in 1863, he received a 37:500$000 rebate for investments in his then flailing undertaking.[32] Similarly, when the Imperial government finally opened a specialized directory for colonization affairs, the director chosen for the task was SCT secretary Ignácio da Cunha Galvão (see Chapter 7).

Emerging almost simultaneously with the 1850 ban, the SCT boldly attempted to undo the furtive slave trade and eventually take apart slavery itself. However, notwithstanding its initial bluster, the association fell short of accomplishing its ideals of abolishing trafficking and replacing the slave system with free labor. A heterogenous membership

[31] AN, Conselho-cód. 49, vol. 4, ff. 47r–50r, "Parecer ... sobre o requerimento de Eugênio Aprígio da Veiga" (15 Feb. 1849); cód. 276, vol. 2, ff. 223–232, Request from Eugênio Aprígio da Veiga to form an agrarian Society (15 May 1852); APERJ-304, mç. 4, colony director Nicolau França Leite to provincial president RJ Luis José Barbosa (1 Feb. 1854), "Relação dos colonos que entrarão na colonia do Vallão dos Veados desde 18 de abril de 1847 até 1 de janeiro de 1854"; *Colonia do Vallão dos Veados. Cópia do Relatório dirigido pela Directoria ao Exm. Presidente da Província* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Correio Mercantil, 1853).

[32] Fransilvânia fostered up to 288 Portuguese colonos and an undisclosed number of indigenous peoples. It became a meeting place for the provincial president and the Pancas and Mutum chiefs of the area, until then locked in mutual warfare. In late 1857, about 40 Mutums and 71 Pancas lived in the colony. Kodama, "Os debates pelo fim do tráfico," 414; *Relatório do presidente da província ES* (1856), 31; provincial president Olímpio Carneiro Viriato Catão to Olinda (22 Oct. 1857), cited in *Correio da Victoria*, nos. 88, 95 (14 Nov., 9 Dec. 1857); Decree no. 3128 (18 July), *CLIB* (1863), vol. 1, 259.

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produced varied proposals that struggled to congeal into an easily actionable agenda. Moreover, the SCT took on a colonization experiment of its own that fared poorly before grinding to a halt in 1852. In the end, the SCT contributed to ingraining an intangible but enduring conceit in Brazilian public debates, namely that free labor could and would replace enslaved labor. And it reared personnel steeped in that belief who went on to lead other colonization pursuits and the government dependencies tasked with supporting them.

PARAÍBA VALLEY PLANTERS VS. THE IMPERIAL STATE'S NEEDS

Meanwhile, planters in Rio de Janeiro inaugurated colonization experiments of their own at a scale that easily surpassed that of Valão dos Veados. Paraíba Valley coffee barons had begun importing Portuguese and German colonos with the help of the provincial president and the Brazilian minister in Berlin. These budding empresarios included planters from the first coffee frontier along the Paraíba and all the way to Minas Gerais. At the time, only the Senador Vergueiro colony established in 1847 in São Paulo could claim a similar magnitude and influence, having given rise to six other colonies with about a hundred colonos each by 1853.[33] The Paraíba Valley colonies remained more numerous and marginally larger in their colono populations in the early 1850s. About 18 colono-employing fazendas reported to Rio authorities on their colono populations, which ranged from 33 to 540 colonos. Their productivity provided a quick return on planters' initial investment in travel and maintenance costs while guaranteeing a margin of profits. In 1852, for example, 140 colonos at the visconde de Baependi's fazenda Santa Rosa sent 16:728$129 worth of coffee to Rio, which exceeded colonos' total debt to their patron by 597$754, that is, over half a conto.[34]

[33] Luiz Pedreira do Couto Ferraz, *Relatório do Império* (1854), 52–55; Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820–1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 88–94.

[34] APERJ, PP 304-mç. 2, "Conta corrente do café da colheta do ano 1852 pertencente ao . . . Visconde do Baependi e os colonos da sua Fazenda de Santa Rosa" (31 Dec. 1853); Nicolau Antonio Nogueira Valle da Gama to provincial president RJ João de Almeida Pereira Filho (2 Apr. 1859), João Ribeiro de Castro to Pereira Filho (24 Apr. 1859); Antonio Ribeiro de Castro to provincial president RJ Ignácio Silveira da Mota (12 June 1859); Diretoria de Obras Públicas-479, mç. 1, "Estatística da Colonia Allemãa de Santa Justa" (31 May 1852); Luiz Pedreira do Couto Ferraz, *Relatório do presidente da província RJ* (1852), 48–57; Ignácio Silveira da Mota, *Relatório do presidente da província RJ* (1859), 20–22.

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Antonio Clemente Pinto, barão de Nova Friburgo, was not only one of the wealthiest men in the Empire but also the owner of the largest colono complex in the Valley. According to Rodrigo Marretto, by 1873 the barão's postmortem inventory revealed him to be one of the two largest slaveholders in Cantagalo district, with his property in slaves ascending to 1.999:200$000, or 29 percent of his fortune.[35] Yet in the 1850s, without giving up on slavery, the barão undertook daring experiments. With the help of his future son-in-law and associate, Belgian engineer Jacob van Erven, the barão mechanized his plantations. Then, he began taking in successive colono cohorts so that by 1859 he had contracted 2,354 foreign workers across his fazendas.

Many who completed their contract – up to 1,560 among the barão's workers alone – went on to work independently or in neighboring plantations while beaming accounts of their experiences reached the pages of German publications lauding Paraíba Valley planters. In Thuringia, liberal editor and emigration promoter Günther Fröbel printed this news in a pamphlet series he titled *Fliegende Blätter für Auswanderer* ("Flying Leaves for Emigrants") in a supplement to the *Rudolstädter Wochenblattes* and in the *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*. Such accounts, which some argued were edited by planters, ensured a steady stream of colono relatives and compatriots as the first cohorts moved elsewhere in the region, to Petrópolis, or south to São Leopoldo. Meanwhile, those who stayed in the Paraíba Valley played an important role in the eyes of their employers, especially when they signaled a long-term commitment to remain in Brazil by applying for naturalization. In a single day in early 1858, for example, a scribe for the local police and a justice of peace certified scores of naturalization letters for colonos at Baependi's Santa Rosa plantation.[36]

A series of *JC* articles published as a pamphlet in 1855 explained Paraíba Valley elites' sudden penchant for colonos. The author, Luís Lacerda Werneck, was a planter from one of the most prominent fluminense clans, son of the barão do Paty do Alferes, and a law graduate from universities in Paris and Rome. Werneck's *Idéas sobre colonisação*

[35] Rodrigo Marins Marretto, "O opulento capitalista: Café e escravidão na formação do patrimônio familiar do Barão de Nova Friburgo (c.1829–c.1873)," (PhD thesis, UFF, 2019), 313–353.

[36] APERJ-PP 304, mç. 2, barão de Nova Friburgo to Silveira da Motta (15 June 1859), and 30-odd naturalization letters in Obras Públicas-479, mç. 1 (5 Jan. 1858); Débora Bendocchi Alves, "Cartas de imigrantes como fonte para o historiador: Rio de Janeiro-Turíngia (1852–1853)," *RBH* 23, no. 45 (2003): 155–184.

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focused on the untenable state of the coffee economy as many planters neared their last productive coffee harvests. On average, plantations bore fruit for twenty years beginning three to four years after seedlings went to ground. After this quarter-century window, tired soils diminished yields, as did pests like the *erva do passarinho* and the *saúva*.[37] To make matters worse, coffee monoculture and large landholding had increased food prices to levels that imperiled agriculture as a whole. Colonization, according to Werneck, would furnish laborers and small farmers to take up "good, if exhausted, land" and bolster food-crop production, and Germans and Swiss were particularly well suited to the task because of their familiarity with smallholding agriculture.[38] A year after his publication, Werneck entered Rio's provincial assembly and served until 1859, by which time he was also one of the directors of the Pedro II Railway and had followed other colonization advocates' political ascent.

The imperial government was keen to Paraíba Valley planters' worries and their undertakings to relieve them. From 1849 to 1853, Rio president Luiz Pedreira do Couto Ferraz began to periodically monitor and assess the needs of Paraíba planters hiring colonos. Ferraz had previously served as vice-president under Aureliano, having graduated from the São Paulo Law school in the 1830s and taking a provincial assembly seat in Rio in 1845. As a friend and confidant of Pedro II, Ferraz avoided partisan bickering and preferred, like Aureliano, a moderate reformism geared toward strengthening central government attributions. Ferraz's fact-finding among planters thus pertained to a more encompassing effort to evaluate previous colonization experiments, some of which had been protected by his mentors. In that spirit, he even commissioned a report on Nova Friburgo to a rising district judge in Cantagalo, Alagoas-born João Lins Vieira Cansansão de Sinimbú, who soon became a colonization stalwart, while Ferraz went on to take the Empire portfolio in the marquês de Paraná's conciliation cabinet in 1853.[39]

[37] Stanley Stein, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850–1890* (Atheneum: New York, 1976 [1957]), 34–50, 219–223; Diogo de Carvalho Cabral, "Into the Bowels of Tropical Earth: Leaf-Cutting Ants and the Colonial Making of Agrarian Brazil," *Journal of Historical Geography* 50 (2015): 92–105.

[38] Luis Peixoto de Lacerda Werneck, *Idéas sobre colonisação precedidas de uma succinta exposição dos princípios geraes que regem a população* (Rio de Janeiro: Eduardo e Henrique Laemmert, 1855).

[39] Ferraz, *Relatório do presidente da província RJ* (1851), 34–37; João Lins Vieira Cansansão de Sinimbú, *Notícia das colonias agrícolas suissa e allemã fundadas na freguezia de S. João Baptista de Nova Friburgo* (Niterói: Typographia de Amaral e Irmão, 1852); Begonha Bediaga, "Discreto personagem do império brasileiro: Luís

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Despite efforts like Ferraz's, the central government's own concerns after 1850 transcended the immediate needs of the Empire's most powerful group and led statesmen to focus on colonization applications that diverged from those of the Paraíba Valley planters. And so, for instance, as Werneck excoriated Chinese immigration, the imperial government signed a contract for 2,000 Chinese colonos. Even conservatives themselves showed willingness to partake in colonization for geostrategic purposes rather than for planters' sake. In February 1851, a full six months before Juan Manuel de Rosas declared war, the Brazilian government installed a recruitment bureau in Hamburg manned by special envoy Sebastião de Rego Barros. A prominent deputy, Rego Barros was also ex-minister of War and brother to the provincial president who brought in German colonos to Pernambuco in 1838. With a math degree from Göttingen, Rego Barros was no stranger to German lands, which helped him recruit decommissioned Prussians from the Schleswig-Holstein War (1848–1852). Nonetheless, the drive was plagued with challenges. Last-minute desertions multiplied as the Argentine consul in Hamburg, Luiz Bahne, carried out his own recruitments. Other recruits preferred emigration to the United States, prompted by the Berlin-based Society for the Protection of Emigrants' anti-Brazilian propaganda. Indeed, Rego Barros even uncovered the existence of a vast network of colono spies for Argentina already in place in the southern colony of São Leopoldo.[40]

In the end, Rego Barros secured 1,770 officers, soldiers, and craftsmen. Yet these "Brummers," as they were called in reference to the payment given to mercenaries, largely refused to fight. They ran away or demanded that their contracts be rescinded. The chain of command frequently broke down and local officers routinely ignored orders. In spite of these issues, however, many Brummers stayed behind in Brazil at war's end and founded newspapers and local institutions in Brazilian colonies like Dona Francisca and Blumenau. Some later became the first Brazilian deputies of German descent elected to the provincial assembly in Rio Grande do Sul.[41] Ultimately, the recruitment episode signaled to

Pedreira do Couto Ferraz, visconde do Bom Retiro (1818–1886)," *Topoi* 18, no. 35 (2017): 381–405; Needell, *Party of Order*, 173.

[40] AN, Guerra-IG[1]431, Portuguese diplomat José [Maurício] Correia [Henriques] to Brazilian minister in the Hanse cities Marcos Antônio de Araújo (3 Aug. 1852); Justiça-IJ[1] 998, Paulino to Eusébio (confidential) (12 June 1851).

[41] Ferdinand Schröder, *A imigração alemã para o sul do Brasil até 1859* (Porto Alegre: Unisinos, 2003 [1931]), 144–156; Giralda Seyferth, *Nacionalismo e identidade étnica: A ideologia germanista e o grupo étnico teuto-brasileiro numa comunidade do Vale do*

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Brazilian statesmen that colonization, while sometimes fraught, could be deployed to address political problems domestic and foreign.

The Brazilian government took cues from the Paraíba Valley, but the scale and extent of its plans involving colonization easily surpassed the purview of fazendeiros. Imperial authorities focused instead on Empire-wide needs and province-specific applications. Military colonies furnish a clear example. Following the 1850 Land Law, two decrees signed by the visconde de Monte Alegre spelled out the contours of a bill that Brazilian lawmakers had debated for over twenty years. The first decree targeted the backlands of Pernambuco and Alagoas, alleged hideouts of recent Praieira rebels, with military colonies that doubled as smallholding homesteads. This initiative soon extended to other provinces, buoyed by the extraordinary credit of 25 contos conceded to the Empire ministry to implement the regulations.[42] The conciliation cabinet disbursed more than 27 contos to the province of Paraná alone to transport Portuguese colonos to new military colonies in Mato Grosso.[43] Within three years, the imperial government had established 16 such colonies: 4 in Goiás; 3 in Pará and Mato Grosso respectively; and 1 each in Maranhão, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Minas Gerais, Paraná, and Santa Catarina.[44] Accompanying this proliferation of military colonies, private schemes in multiple Brazilian regions further underscored colonization's dissemination beyond the Paraíba Valley.

Paraíba Valley planters were a driving force in the early formation of the Brazilian state. But at the juncture when their concern over labor shortages mattered the most, imperial authorities' interests parted ways with theirs. Wealthy planters like the barão de Nova Friburgo tested colonization but did not appear to rely on it to replace the ranks of the

Itajaí (Florianópolis: FCC Edições, 1982); João Biehl, "Jammerthal, the Valley of Lamentation: Kultur, War Trauma, and Subjectivity in Nineteenth-Century Brazil," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 8, no. 2 (1999): 177–178; Carlos Eduardo Piassini, *Imigração alemã e política: Os deputados provinciais Koseritz, Kahlden, Haensel, Brüggen e Bartholomay* (Porto Alegre: Assembleia Provincial Legislativa, 2017).

[42] Decrees nos. 729 and 735 (9, 20 Nov.), *CLIB* (1850), vol. 2, 226–231, 242; Bruno Dornelas Câmara, "O 'retalho do comércio: A política partidária, a comunidade portuguesa e a nacionalização do comércio a retalho, Pernambuco 1830–1870" (PhD diss., UFPE, 2012), 327.

[43] BN, Manuscritos-Coleção Galvão, 374,01,004 no. 26 – Empire minister Ferraz to prime minister visconde de Paraná (24 Oct. 1854).

[44] By 1859, Brazil had 22 military colonies or presidios. AN, Guerra-IG^{12}3; Regina Martins de Faria, "Civilizar e desenvolver: Duas faces da intervenção militar em áreas internas do Brasil. Séculos XIX e XX," *Clio* 29, no 2 (2011).

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enslaved. Organic intellectuals of this class further underscored other concerns for which colonization afforded potential remedies, including food scarcity. With resources of its own, the planter class ultimately espoused a narrow application of colonization that contrasted with the more numerous and broader geopolitical and military concerns bedeviling the Brazilian Empire.

COLONIZATION ACROSS THE EMPIRE: FOREIGN NETWORKS AND THE RACE FOR FAVORS

Provincial elites beyond Rio had other colonization schemes in mind and took advantage of the avid interest in colonization manifested by foreign consuls and merchants. In Bahia, sugar planters losing enslaved workers to southeastern coffee fazendas due to a bourgeoning inter-provincial trade found a champion in Francisco Gonçalves Martins, a son of the sugar parish of Santo Amaro. After serving as chief of police in Salvador and deputy for Bahia at the Court, Gonçalves Martins contemplated importing colonos for the Recôncavo's cane fields, seeing the 1848 revolutions as a window of opportunity. Gonçalves Martins approached the visconde de Olinda's cabinet with a proposal to import 3,000 from Europe and the Azores within five years. "Perhaps now more than ever," he declared, "it's time to ... attract men and capital fleeing the disorder threatening all of Europe." Though compelling, his proposal was not cheap. The deputy asked for 30 contos in advance for every 300 colonos, offering his 600-contos hostel facilities as collateral.[45] The plan stalled, but not so Gonçalves Martins's career, which rose first to Bahia's presidency in 1851–1852 and then to the Empire ministry.

As Empire minister, Gonçalves Martins became a propitious gateway for the flurry of French interest in Brazilian colonization that commenced in the early 1850s and would continue throughout the decade.[46] One of

[45] IHGB-(0), Lata 824- pasta 15, Francisco Gonçalves Martins, "Algumas observações ... sobre a importação de trabalhadores europeus para a província da Bahia" [c.1848–1852]; *Correio Mercantil*, no. 137 (19 May 1848) – different wording appears in *ACD* (17 May 1848), vol. 1, 91–92; Marcos Guedes Vaz Sampaio, *Navegação a vapor na Bahia oitocentista, 1839–1894* (Salvador: EDUFBA, 2014).

[46] J. L. Moré, *Le Brésil en 1852 et sa colonisation future* (Valence: Imp. de J. Marc Aurel, 1852); François Aubé and S. Dutot, *France et Brésil & Notice sur dona Francisca* (Paris: Librairie de Guillaumin et C., 1857); Hyppolite Carvalho, *Etudes sur le Brésil au point de vue de l'immigration et du commerce français* (Paris, 1858).

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those who approached him was Gustave Oelsner de Monmerqué, the French consul in Santos. Having spent the 1840s in the Isle of Bourbon (Réunion) as a journalist and professor at the Collège Royale, Monmerqué believed European workers could gradually contribute to abolition. Yet his first business bid, which the Brazilian government did not authorize, was a life insurance company offering slaveowners coverage for their enslaved. His move to colonization was funded by one "honorable and rich capitalist" and veteran officer from the Orleanist regime dethroned in 1848 who advanced funds for Monmerqué to settle at Mainz and procure recruits in Baden, Hesse, and Bavaria during winter. As a collaborator of the *Journal des Débats*, Monmerqué planned to tour the capitals of German states and exploit contacts in the local press. "Little by little," he claimed, he would find "a good number of brave people who, conveniently treated, would become loyal subjects to His Imperial Majesty, and the means toward a useful and laborious population." In return, he wanted 124 francs per head. With travel costs as low as 3$125 for every colono, Monmerqué estimated that a thousand emigrants in the first year would contribute 200,000 Thalers, or 750,000 francs, in land acquisitions. If the Chamber approved a special credit for a second year, recruitments would rise and so would revenues. That Monmerqué also demanded a land concession and transferability rights for his contract suggests he was intending to profitably sell his concession rather than carry out the plan himself. Had he not died in 1854, and had Gonçalves Martins remained in the ministry, this plan would have yielded a windfall.[47]

The surge in lobbying and permit requests extended geographically as far north as Maranhão. In 1854, a Portuguese merchant resident in São Luís negotiated a provincial contract for a series of colonies. In this endeavor, insurance agent Francisco Marques Rodrigues was certainly

[47] AMI-(POB), mç. 22v-doc. 800, Monmerqué to Gonçalves Martins [1852]; *Estatutos da Companhia de Seguros contra a mortalidade dos escravos Previdência* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. G. Leuzinger, 1854); *Correio Mercantil*, no. 97 (12 Apr. 1858); Marlene Tolède, "Gustave Oelsner-Monmerqué: Un écrivain franco-allemand face à l'esclavage," *Recherches germaniques*, 45 (2015): 25–47. Other French diplomats followed in Monmerqué's footsteps. Leónce Aubé worked for the princes of Joinville in Dona Francisca. Félix de Montravel, French consul in Porto Alegre, approached Empress Teresa Cristina for patronage and obtained a lucrative contract for a colony in Rio Grande of Sul in 1857. AMI-(POB), mç. 120-doc. 5997, Montravel to Empress Teresa Cristina (26 Aug. 1854); mç. 124-doc. 6217, Montravel to Pedro II (8 Sept., 7 Dec. 1857); mç. 126-doc. 6262, same to same (7 Nov. 1858); AHRS, cx. 20, mç. 35; cx. 25, mç. 45.

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aided by the fact that one of his brothers was an Olinda graduate and the renown editor of *A Conciliação* and later the *Diário do Maranhão*. Francisco hoped to establish a colony called Petrópolis by the town of Codó, peopling it with 200 Azoreans, and growing export and local consumption items including cotton, rice, manioc, and coffee.

These plans alarmed civil authorities in São Miguel, who began to crack down on recruitment activities, although Maranhão's law of 19 April 1855, which organized a colonization directorate at the provincial level, mitigated some of their mistrust. In São Luís, the new directorate gave momentum to numerous company drives including that of the Prosperidade Company, whose chief empresario, the Azorean native Antonio Correia de Mendonça Bittencourt, had already conveyed 456 Azoreans to his colony, Santa Teresa, by the time the company announced its statutes. Comendador Isidoro Marques Rodrigues, Francisco's other brother, was part of Prosperidade's board, which signals that a local merchant network of Portuguese, and especially Portuense, descent found quick gain in the new wave of colonization gripping the province.[48]

This colonization resurgence marked a bourgeoning provincial entrepreneurialism embodied by Francisco Marques Rodrigues and his activities. In November 1855, galley *Castro Segundo* arrived in São Luís from Porto, its colonos sick despite a short three-week voyage, followed by barque *Linda* a month later with a total of 280 migrants. Colonos were quickly and roughly redistributed: 112 went to a mining and timber colony, Pericáua, 77 went to private service, and 91 headed to the new settlement of Petrópolis. In 1858, Marques Rodrigues was elected as one of the directors for the Bank of Maranhão, whose founding he had directly petitioned to the imperial government; and a year later, he started the Companhia Confiança Maranhense, a warehouse construction firm worth 80 contos.[49] His rise made manifest colonization's knock-on

[48] *O Observador* (MA), nos. 399, 403 (4, 16 May 1855). Another board member was José Custódio Pinheiro da Silva, visconde de Vila Verde, who owned a palatial home in Porto. On the Marques Rodrigues brothers, see Antônio Henriques Leal, *Pantheon maranhense: ensaios biográphicos dos maranhenses illustres já fallecidos*, vol. 4 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1875), 215–246.

[49] ARPD, Governo Civil do Distrito de Ponta Delgada, doc. 1583.2.3.2.8.9; Ministério do Reino, 3ª Direção, 1ª Repartição to Gov. Civil (5 Aug. 1854); *Relatório do presidente da província MA* (1856); B. de Mattos, *Almanak administrativo, mercantil e industrial* (São Luiz: Typographia do Progresso, 1858, 1859), 98. A few months into 1858, the Bank's shareholders issued a no-confidence vote against Marques Rodrigues. *Diário do Maranhão*, nos. 98, 5, 69 (17 Jan. 1856, 8 Jan., 26 Mar. 1858). The *Castro Segundo*

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effects, as the conveyance and settlement of foreign colonos facilitated increasingly ambitious business leaps.

In a case of even greater ambition but less success, Vergueiro & Co., perhaps the most prominent colonization firm at the time, tried to stagger colonization drives to expand its participation in the colono trade. After monopolizing colono provisioning in São Paulo, the family firm sought to reach beyond its core market by approaching the central government with a proposal to introduce colonos "on a major scale." Reviewing the company's trajectory since its beginning in 1847, Nicolau Vergueiro's eldest son, José, attempted to convince the Justice minister that the time was ripe for spontaneous migration. As the radical Know-Nothings repelled foreign incomers to the United States, he claimed, Brazil in turn invited them with measures like the exemption from onerous titles of residence required since 1841.[50] Latching on to such liberal measures, José Vergueiro asked for a ponderous 200-conto, interest-free loan to import 10,000 colonos in eight years, with a bonus of 10$ per colono and 5$ for every child. In return, he projected each colono would yield a 6 percent annual return and migrant entries would drive up consumption of import goods at a rate that would annually deliver 90 contos to public coffers and so would pay back the value of the original loan more than threefold within the contract period.

However, Vergueiro overplayed his hand in attempting to monopolize Empire-wide colono supply in part because he ignored the government's interest in ongoing experiments in other provinces. After his proposals went ignored by the Justice minister for months, Empire minister Ferraz assigned one of his deputies, Manoel Felizardo, to review the projected returns in Vergueiro's proposal. Felizardo precisely objected to Vergueiro's trademark parceria system as a "grand ideal" that could easily adapt to any province and raised other reservations that made it unlikely that the government would meet José's requests.[51]

arrived in São Luís on 15 Nov. 1855 with 112 colonos from Porto for the Companhia Prosperidade, a Porto-based company organized in 1854 that bought lands in the municipality of Tury-assú for mining and logging and had a projected net worth of 1,000:000$ and dissolved by 1858. César Augusto Marques, *Dicionário histórico-geográfico da província do Maranhão* (Maranhão: Typ. do Frias, 1870), 141–142.

[50] Vergueiro referred to Decree no. 1531 (10 Jan.), *CLIB* (1855), vol. 1, pt. II, 31, which overrode the requirement that foreigners obtain residency titles. Newer regulations allowed foreigners to register in regional Police Secretariats and to travel across provinces with their original passports as valid documentation.

[51] IHGB-(sn), Lata 384-livro 2, José Vergueiro to Justice minister Nabuco (19 Jan., 8 Feb., 1 Mar. 1855).

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Rebuffed by government officials, José Vergueiro understood that he had to pursue a different strategy.[52] He thus moved to offer his services to Bahia's provincial government, eschewing the common practice of routing official communications through the Court and writing directly to president João Maurício Wanderley. Yet, when expanding beyond the safe confines of its provincial base, even a powerful company like the Vergueiros' could end up flying blind to disadvantageous political shifts. The day after Wanderley took his seat as provincial president, shareholders for a Companhia Promotora da Colonisação de Chins (Company for the Promotion of Chinese Colonization) assembled in Salvador to approve statutes and elect the eminent barão de São Francisco as president. And a few months later, Wanderley became War minister, having paid no mind to Vergueiro's proposal. Chinese colonization, it seemed, better suited the world of cane.[53]

At a time when free foreign laborers would ostensibly replace enslaved ones in the leading export-oriented regions, myriad migrant conveyance and settlement projects popped up in provinces beyond those focused on coffee. Colonization's diversity and its Empire-wide applicability was not lost on the central government. On the contrary, imperial officials welcomed fresh proposals targeting southern Brazil, Bahia, or Maranhão and even showed greater interest in them than in planters' efforts in the Paraíba Valley and São Paulo. This efflorescence of profit-bearing possibilities across the Empire limited the scope of the parceria system that the Vergueiros sought to establish as the hegemonic colonization model. In its stead, Brazilian officials and businessmen exhibited a greater openness to alternatives that inserted colonization into diplomatic and transatlantic commercial circuits as well as in an emergent global trade in workers from China.

WEDGING BRAZIL IN THE COOLIE TRADE

Chinese colonos were a developing novelty. As Brazilians knew through press coverage and their consul in Macao, the Taiping Rebellion had

[52] IHGB-(sn), Lata 384-livro 2, Vergueiro to Nabuco (19 Apr. 1855).

[53] AN, Marinha-XM517, Vergueiro & Co. to BA provincial president João Maurício Wanderley (14 Mar. 1855); Provincial president of Bahia Álvaro Tiberio Moncorvo Lima to Navy minister Wanderley (30 June 1855). I kindly thank Dale Graden for thoughtfully sharing this box with me at the archives. *JC*, no. 268 (27 Sept. 1854).

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ravaged Chinese lands, especially after the takeover of Nanjing by the Heavenly Kingdom rebels in 1854 and the counterinsurgency led by secret societies in Guangdong province. The French siege of Canton made matters worse. As the epicenter of the conflict, Guangdong became the leading emigrant-sending region, with emigrants streaming down to the Pearl River delta, the ports of Macao and Hong Kong, and from thence to the world.[54]

Coolie importation schemes arrived in Brazil very quickly. In late 1854, John Forster, a member of the British House of Commons for Berwick, submitted a proposal to special Brazilian envoy in London Sérgio Teixeira de Macedo for importing Chinese workers. Minister Ferraz ordered Macedo to turn down the offer on account of the costs per colono, which at £25 exceeded that paid in British and French colonies. Ferraz then instructed Macedo to put out an open call for contractors for an initial trial of 2,000 coolies later expandable to 6,000.[55]

From 1855 to 1856, three ships hauled 969 Chinese workers to Brazil from Hong Kong and Singapore, almost three times more than the 360 previously estimated by scholars (Table 5.1).[56] By early 1856, Brazil's consul in Macao, the barão de Circal, felt compelled for the first time since his appointment in 1849 to brief Brazilian authorities on the bourgeoning, if often unauthorized, emigration of destitute Chinese from that port. As ships headed for Brazil loaded farther upriver at Whampoa (Huangpu) or even Cumsingmoon (Jinxingmen), just north of Macao, Circal tried to entice the Brazilian government to consider running its coolie trade by treaty obligations and under consular oversight from Macao. However, by 1857, this possibility came to a close with the British and French war against the Chinese Empire and particularly with the siege of Canton. The Franco-British blockade cut access to ports like

[54] "China," *O Constitutional*, no. 78 (22 Oct. 1853); *DRJ*, no. 249 (10 Sept. 1855); June Mei, "Socioeconomic Origins of Emigration: Guangdong to California, 1850–1882," *Modern China* 5, no. 4 (1979): 463–501.

[55] Aviso from Ferraz to Teixeira Macedo (14 May 1855), *Coleção das decisões do governo do Império do Brasil* (1855), vol. 18, 515–517; Arnold Meagher, "The Introduction of Chinese Laborers to Latin America: The 'Coolie Trade,' 1847–1874" (PhD diss., University of California, Davis, 1975), 291–292.

[56] *DRJ*, nos. 32, 41, 79 (10 Feb., 7 Nov. 1855, 19 Mar., 20 Oct. 1856); *Correio da Tarde*, no. 66 (19 Mar. 1856); Robert Conrad, "The Planter Class and the Debate over Chinese Immigration to Brazil, 1850–1893," *International Migration Review* 9, no. 1 (1975): 41–55.

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TABLE 5.1 *Chinese migrant entries in Rio de Janeiro, 1855–1856*

Vessel name	Provenance	Date of arrival	# of Chinese colonos	Contractor/ Consignee
U.S. barque *Elisa Ann*	Singapore	9 Feb. 1855	303	Manoel de Almeida Cardoso
U.S. galleon *Sarah*	Whampoa/ Hong Kong	18 Mar. 1856	375 (8 died en route)	Sampson & Tappan/Baird, Le Cocq e C.
Portguese galleon *Soberana*	Singapore	19 Oct. 1856	299	Manoel de Almeida Cardoso

DRJ, no. 41, 79 (10 Feb. 1855, 19 Mar., 20 Oct. 1856); *Correio da* Tarde, no 66 (19 Mar. 1856).

Whampoa and effectively suspended the coolie trade to Brazil for several years thereafter.[57]

Yet, while the coolie trade still promised to make headway, much of its organization came at the hand of Manoel de Almeida Cardoso, a salt merchant in Rio capable of waiting out the long circular voyage to and from China to claim his profits and who organized at least two of three confirmed coolie trade voyages to Brazil. The first of these ships, the Portuguese galleon *Soberana*, left Rio on 6 November 1855, only to return almost a full calendar year later on 19 October 1856 with several hundred Chinese colonos and a cargo of rice, porcelain, and other items that Cardoso delegated to an auctioneer who had recently sold the house furniture of the banished slave trader Manoel Pinto da Fonseca. Upon arrival, the Chinese passengers headed to Sapucaia island in Guanabara Bay to a new "establishment to receive colonos" adjacent to the one in Bom Jesús Island and close to another in the Ponta do Cajú. There, the new *colonos chins* would wait until contractors procured their services at Cardoso's bureau in the city.[58]

Another vessel, US galleon *Sarah*, stole the spotlight when it arrived in Rio from Hong Kong in March 1856 after only 80 days at sea. Its arrival was as much a logistical feat as a showcase for the financial liabilities

[57] AHI-RCB-Macau, 252/4/6, consul at Macau, Alexandrino António de Melo, barão de Circal, to foreign minister José Maria da Silva Paranhos (10 Jan. 1856); French Navy General Rigault de Genouilly to barão de Circal (10 Dec. 1857); *JC*, no. 102 (15 Apr. 1857). On the Second Opium War, see J. Y. Wong, *Deadly Dreams: Opium and the Arrow War (1856–1860) in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[58] *DRJ*, no. 57 (26 Feb. 1855); *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 126, 127 (6, 7 May 1852).

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inherent to the coolie trade. The 367 Chinese colonos onboard represented the first shipment of a projected total of 2,000 coolies the imperial government contracted for with the Boston-based firm of George R. Sampson and abolitionist Lewis W. Tappan as part of a £2,000 contract finalized in mid-1855 via the Brazilian minister in London. That first shipment was also the last of that onerous contract. Initially backed by the US commissioner to China, Sampson & Tappan's operation took a turn when a new commissioner appointed in 1855 began an aggressive campaign to curtail the coolie trade. Writing insistently to the Boston merchants' agent in Hong Kong and to Sampson himself, and aided by mounting public consternation in Boston over their involvement in the coolie trade, the new commissioner convinced the firm to rescind the contract after the *Sarah*. A contrite Sampson & Tappan sent an unsolicited affidavit with documents on the issue to be examined by the Boston Board of Trade, which concluded that its members' commercial affairs were a private matter.[59]

Sampson & Tappan's about-face became a hindrance to coolie importation plans in Brazil, as government officers confronted blowback as they tried to study the possibility of pressuring the Boston firm to complete its contract, especially because the Brazilian government had already paid the travel costs for 367 colonos to Sampson & Tappan's consignee in Rio. Minister Ferraz recommended suing Sampson & Tappan and sought to pressure the firm by rejecting its consignee's request to declare their contract null. But when the time came for Ferraz to report to the Chamber of Deputies, where anti-Chinese sentiment was rampant, Ferraz had to forcibly accept that the endeavor had cost the treasury 31 contos in losses.[60]

Despite the political fallout and financial mess left behind by the Sampson & Tappan contract, the arrival of Cardoso's *Soberana* showed alternative pathways to continue with the trade and to craft a market for it in Rio. Slapping advertisements on major dailies, Cardoso reminded potential clients of the availability, skills, and character of these laborers, who were gradually hired for diverse undertakings in and around Rio.

[59] Boston Board of Trade, *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Government of the "Board of Trade," to Take into Consideration the Communication of Messrs. Sampson & Tappan* (Boston: J. H. Eastburn's Press, 1856); Lucy Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People Without a History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 30–34.

[60] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}121, Agriculture ministry to Baird, Le Cocq. e Cia. (25 Apr. 1856), f. 42v; Ferraz, *Relatório do Império* (1856), 92; *DRJ*, no. 108 (16 Apr. 1856); IHGB-(o), Lata 213-pasta 87-doc. A, Manoel Felizardo to marquês de Olinda (8 July 1857); 23 July, *ACD* (1857), vol. 4, 91–92.

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At least 30 Chinese men from the *Sarah* were quickly snatched up for the Mangaratiba roadworks, but the hiring was not as quick or easy as expected. Sinophobic reactions compelled Cardoso to publicly praise Chinese labor and publicize testimonials from satisfied clients including the barão de Mauá, the visconde de Ipanema, chief of police Jerônimo Martiniano Figueira de Melo, and one Joaquim Francisco de Lima, who reported he had no complaints and was planning to hire 50 more Chinese after his enslaved African workers contracted scabies.

These testimonials glossed over the harsh realities endured by Chinese workers under their patrons. Reportedly, one cool winter night in Valença, in the mountains near Rio, the ten Chinese colonos at Lima's plantation put on their best clothes, bundled their money in their knapsacks, and hanged themselves. Lacking a translator, three survivors were unable to explain the event, whose definition as a collective suicide rather than as a potential crime the press did not question, attributing it to an "attack of nostalgia." Chinese resistance to plantation labor puzzled many other fazendeiros, who best understood these colonos' actions as obtuse and irrational. In their estimation, the Chinese were treated fairly in accordance to their standard five-year contracts. Another fazendeiro from Piraí, most likely Joaquim Manoel de Sá, whom the government had "entrusted" with 10 Chinese colonos, publicly expressed his bewilderment when these showed up at the Navy headquarters in Rio to complain of maltreatment. Sá pointed out that, having cut their hair and begun wearing shoes, the Chinese colonos at his fazenda had shown what he considered outward signs of progress at odds with their reported discontent.[61]

In sugar-growing hinterlands northeast of Rio, the situation was no better. A number of the Chinese who arrived on the *Sarah* went to work for Jean-Baptiste Lacaille, a physician from Réunion who settled in Rio after retiring from the French navy in 1846. Lacaille had earned recognition from the French Legion of Honor and the Order of Isabel la Católica for attending French and Spanish victims of the yellow fever in 1849–1851.[62] But his benevolence did not seem to extend to Chinese workers. The 40 colonos arriving at his fazenda in Magé got two-days

[61] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}121, Felizardo to provincial vice-president RJ (17 June 1856); *O Constitucional*, no. 46 (14 July 1855); *Correio Mercantil*, no. 184 (5 July 1856).

[62] Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer Ministère des Colonies, Actes du pouvoir central, Lois, décrets, ordonnances, décisions sur rapports-Règne de Louis-Philippe, "Ordonnance du roi admettant à la retraite Jean Baptiste Lacaille et Pierre Mérandon, chirurgiens de la Marine de 2ème classe (8 juin 1846), 1 Leg. 25; *Révue française de l'étranger et des colonies* 10, no. 2 (1889): 699–700.

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rest before Lacaille eased them into work by limiting their hours to morning and early afternoons. Ostensibly keen to his lenience, 34 workers soon demanded direct cash payments and pork instead of beef, but Lacaille objected. When the laborers refused to go to the fields and roughed up the Chinese foreman sent to scold them, Lacaille called in the district police, which could not bring them to work despite some arrests. The majority of the workers staged a sit-in, camping along the prison walls where their peers were held, until the police caved in and freed the prisoners. Lacaille promptly returned the Chinese colonos to Rio and dissolved his contract, while the workers upheld their complaints over inadequate food rations and wage withholding.[63]

Such incidents confirmed the Sinophobic imaginaries of the likes of Luís Lacerda Werneck, who reviled Chinese labor in his famous tract. But his younger brother, Manoel Peixoto de Lacerda Werneck, may have come to understand the other meanings of possessing a Chinese worker when he boarded the steamship *Tocantins* to "northern ports" just two weeks after a coolie voyage landing in Rio and contemplated the many wealthy men accompanied by their new coolie servants (*criados*). Notables like José Antonio Moreira, visconde de Ipanema, tagged Chinese as "submissive" and gladly put them into circulation in an economy of gifts and status markers, sending one to serve as a personal servant as a present for his son, who was then studying at the Olinda law school in Pernambuco. Forty additional Chinese onboard with the younger Werneck were slated for delivery to different contractors in the northeast. This seemingly incidental encounter between a soon-to-be Paraíba Valley grandee and anonymous Chinese indentured workers headed to the northeast lays bare that, since the approval of the slave trade ban of 1850 (whose author, Eusébio de Queirós, also happened to be a passenger on the *Tocantins*), Chinese servants did not represent slave-labor substitutes. Rather, among these well-to-do characters and alumni of the Olinda law school, the Chinese became status symbols, a kind of vogue that led many of them to gladly share their experiences with Chinese workers for Cardoso to publicize in the press.[64]

[63] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}121, ministry of Agriculture to president RJ (28 Apr. 1856), f. 42r; Nicoláo Joaquim Moreira, "2° discurso," *AIN* 39, no. 4 (Apr. 1871): 189–192. Moreira's account was based on José Pedro Xavier Pinheiro's *Importação de trabalhadores chins* (1869), a report commissioned by the Agriculture ministry.

[64] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 99 (11 Apr. 1855); "Colonos chins," *JC*, no. 151 (2 Junho 1855); *DRJ*, no. 56 (25 Feb. 1855).

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Beyond Rio, Chinese colonos made an appearance in the most diverse industries, often in undertakings organized as joint-stock companies. In 1856, Frederick Mangeon took 30 of the men who had arrived on the *Sarah* to Pará, where they worked for the Amazon Navigation Company (est. 1853) led by the barão de Mauá, who was also one of the appointed inspectors of onboard conditions when the *Sarah* first docked at the Court. In neighboring Maranhão, the Companhia Mineração Maranhense's vice-president, Cândido Mendes de Almeida, accompanied the arrival of the first coolies. Mendes took in 40 coolies for work in the company's mines at Maracassumé under two-year contracts. Enterprises more focused on colonization per se also took interest in the Chinese colonos. The Mucury Company in northeastern Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo hired 89 Chinese workers in 1856 as part of a diverse intake of migrants for both company work and settlement purposes. Close by, the Rio Novo colony had taken in 10 Chinese by the time of its second shareholder meeting that same year.[65]

Reports on the utility, behavior, and treatment of these colonos varied. Mucury Company director Téofilo Ottoni lauded the Chinese over others for their capacity to steer clear of *bicho de pé* (chigoe), a foot-boring flea that afflicted German and Portuguese colonos allegedly due to paucity of feet washing.[66] In Maracassumé, the Chinese were not so lucky. Of the initial cohort of 40 colonos, 3 passed away (suicide, fevers, and, reportedly, "sloth"), and 2 allegedly ran away. The local director wrote to the company's president, Antonio da Rocha Miranda (who happened to be his brother), complaining that Chinese colonization would be both useless and dangerous to the country if judged by his experience – "these people," he added, "seem to live exclusively to sleep and eat." The runaways had in fact headed to São Luís, the provincial capital, to report abuses by the director and others, which forced Rocha Miranda to publicly pledge actions to address those unjustifiable "irregularities." In Rio Novo, Chinese colonos found strength in numbers, banding

[65] *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 135, 233 (16 May, 24 Aug. 1856); Irineu Evangelista de Sousa, *Relatório da Companhia de Navegação e Commércio do Amazonas* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imp. e Const. de J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1857), 11–12; *DRJ*, nos. 46, 122 (15 Feb. 1855, 6 May 1857); Teófilo Ottoni, *A colonização do Mucury: Memória justificativa em que se explica o estado actual dos colonos estabelecidos no Mucury e as causas dos recentes acontecimentos naquela colonia* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Brasiliense de Maximiano Gomes Ribeiro, 1859).

[66] Ottoni, *A colonização do Mucury*.

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together to repel aggressions from Portuguese colonos to the point that on one occasion the director summoned police from Vitória.[67]

Bahia fostered one of the most robust provincial efforts to secure its share of Chinese colonos. Local empresarios and notables came together in Salvador intent on securing a direct supply of Chinese coolies in September 1854 and launched the Companhia Promotora da Colonisação de Chins (Company for the Promotion of Chinese Colonization). Managed by Bahian notables like its president, José de Araújo Aragão Bulcão, barão de São Francisco, the company scoured the city of Salvador for potential suppliers.[68] A young doctor and longtime resident in the city, George Edward Fairbanks, responded to the call. As the first ship with Chinese contract workers called port in Rio, Fairbanks began to organize his own "new company for the introduction of Chinese colonos." Rather than ask for favors in Rio, he even went to London to bank on a promise of support from Lord Clarendon. Fairbanks obtained orders for the British plenipotentiary envoy in China to aid him in his pursuit, but his trace got lost thereafter.[69] Nevertheless, Bahian elites went ahead with their own company, pushing the provincial president to contract with another supplier for the importation of a relatively modest, perhaps experimental, delivery of 50 Chinese. While tempting and potentially profitable, this contract may have fallen short of the other dealings of the new supplier, who was also the local agent for the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company and owner of two charcoal deposits in Salvador. Additional sources of income in effect allowed the supplier to rescind the contract in 1856 on the grounds that he could not meet the high demand for Chinese colonos in Bahia – another snag in the province's avid attempts to set up its own coolie labor pipeline.[70]

With the arrival of the *Sarah*, however, provincial president Moncorvo Lima attempted to advance Bahian planters' requests ahead of numerous

[67] *DRJ*, nos. 41, 122 (10 Feb. 1856, 6 May 1857); Marques, *Dicionário*, 141.

[68] *Almanak Administrativo, mercantil e industrial da Bahia, para o anno de 1855* (Bahia: Typ. de Camillo de Lellis Masson, 1854), 226. The company operated until about 1856: *Almanak Administrativo . . . para o anno de 1856* (1855), 261.

[69] AN, Interior-IJJ^{9}337; *DRJ*, no. 63 (4 Mar. 1855); *Fala do presidente da Bahia* (1856), 79–80. Fairbanks remained an important figure in Salvador's medical establishment thanks to his clinic, where he attended slaves for a fee. See João José Reis, *Divining Slavery and Freedom: The Story of Domingos Sodré, an African Priest in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, trans. Sabrina Gledhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 51–52; James Fletcher and Daniel Kidder, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson, 1857), 490.

[70] APEB, mç. 4606-1, Conditions for contract between provincial president João Maurício Wanderley and Wilson & C. (26 Mar. 1855); Moncorvo e Lima, *Fala*, 79–80.

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others from other parts of the Empire vying for the 368 Chinese colonos under the purview of the imperial government. As Manoel Felizardo from the Directorate of Public Lands explained to the Bahian president, nine more shipments were expected. When other parties snatched up the colonos more quickly at higher prices, Felizardo consoled Bahians by saying their requests would be duly attended with the arrival of the following Chinese cohort. But Bahia officials persisted and gained some leverage with Wilson. According to the *Correio Mercantil*, in September 1856 the port of Salvador was expecting a vessel from Hong Kong consigned to Wilson Scott & Co. with 225 Chinese workers onboard. If not hired in Bahia, the firm had announced, they would continue on to Demerara.[71]

The plodding commerce with East Asian ports continued despite the failure of the government's contract with Sampson & Tappan, and so it stands to reason that further Chinese colono shipments may have landed in Brazil. The national galleon *Souto*, for instance, left for Singapore that very October, freighting a massive cargo of salt and Portuguese grinding stones, and may have returned the same way it left.[72] Whether or not this was the case, the imperial government's efforts to jump-start a coolie trade revealed a deep interest in profitably sustaining the supply of these workers for sugar growers in provincial Rio de Janeiro and across the northeast. The value of such workers as status markers and harbingers of potential dividends called forth enterprising captains and the promise of new companies such as the one in Bahia. But business dynamics – faulty logistics, limited supply, and incompliant suppliers – also foiled this first Brazilian foray into the coolie trade, itself interrupted by political conflicts. Nevertheless, even if brief, this coolie importation episode brought into high relief the imperial government's readiness to seriously consider alternative directed migration and colonization projects even if they did not fit neatly into a labor transition paradigm.

* * *

Scholars have long contemplated the mid-century mark as the starting point of transformative changes in Brazil's political economy. Many assume the Brazilian Empire underwent sweeping transformations after 1850 as governmental action aligned ever more closely with international

[71] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}10, Land Office director Manoel Felizardo to provincial president BA Moncorvo e Lima (24 Mar., 9 Apr. 1856); *Correio Mercantil*, no. 261 (22 Sept. 1856).

[72] *DRJ*, nos. 279, 291 (8, 20 Oct. 1856).

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pressures and market forces. Wedged between these, migrations helped shape the public and private dealings of government authorities and businessmen alike. Yet, the assortment of colonization projects emerging across the Empire went beyond Rio and São Paulo, throwing into question traditional understandings of colonization as the lever of a southeastern labor transition. In this expanded Empire-wide geography, and in the diverse projects that tethered it to local contexts, colonization endeavors generated as many challenges as solutions to questions of development, food prices, land distribution, and other areas of regulatory oversight, including the regulation of labor and justice for colonos.

Government's diverse distribution of colonos across numerous industries and services throughout the Empire reflected the multifarious nature of private colonization pursuits in the early 1850s. Yet that very diversity imposed logistical hurdles. When colonos remained under government care, authorities assigned them to haphazard tasks that produced new shortcomings. The Chinese colonos, for instance, were initially housed at Jurujuba, the Navy yard opposite Pão de Açucar at the entrance of Guanabara Bay. Issues of potable water delivery and an unreliable schedule of departures for ports expecting a cohort of those colonos, such as Paranaguá, in Paraná, resulted in some colonos staying behind at the Navy yards for several years. In 1858, a Chinese man still working at the Navy's armory pleaded to be relieved of his duties. [73]

Similarly, government found itself unable to follow the fates of the other colonos even in the vicinities of the Court. In the neighborhood of Bemfica, residents reported seeing several Chinese "begging for alms, in a state of perfect misery," while in the then rural parish of Engenho Novo, police arrested Chinese men allegedly brawling with one another.[74] These flare-ups spurred anti-colonization animosities among previous supporters of agricultural colonization such as *O Grito Nacional*. So long as colonos of any provenance were subjected to beatings, the paper said, statesmen enabling the "*humanitarian* planters" responsible for such abuses would never satisfy "that pounding need – *free colonos to substitute the slaves!*" After another apparent collective suicide of Chinese workers, *O Grito* began to raise suspicions that they had in fact been murdered to hide a hideous beating. A Chinese man working for a "fulano Maia" in Botafogo,

[73] AN, Agricultura-IA[6]10, Manoel Felizardo to Brazil's minister in London José Marques Lisboa (29 Mar. 1856), to provincial president PR (9 Apr. 1856), to police delegate at Paranaguá (12 Apr. 1856); Marinha, XM863.

[74] *DRJ*, nos. 108, 112 (22, 27 Apr. 1857, 1858).

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who had been kept in a room with no food for three days, had recently suggested as much in a testimony given to the Police chief at the Court.[75]

The central government's role in facilitating the colono trade gave way to perfunctory oversight of worker treatment. This led *O Grito* to the conclusion that colonization was a term circumscribed to "speculative policy," a "magic word that does great politically, and with which everyone speculates upon the impossibility of continuing the slave trade!"[76] Whereas the journal maintained the conceit that colonization was about an eventual labor replacement, it struck a nerve in its depiction as a more immediate speculative market. Slave trading prohibitions did liberate a measure of business cunning on the part of slave traders willing to take risks for greater returns as the price for enslaved workers rose. But by 1856, many of those businessmen coalesced with others interested in colonos as an alternative or complementary market. When Vergueiro approached the Bahian president, Higino Pires Gomes was already well ahead in his plans for a colony of 200 European families at his fazenda at Jequiriçá.

The Vergueiros lacked such luck and poise in their drive to ingratiate themselves with the central government and Bahian provincial authorities. Spurned by Bahia's president, then sidelined by Felizardo's assessments, Vergueiro & Co.'s growth outlook beyond São Paulo seemed improbable in the last weeks of the 1855 legislature. During a routine discussion on the annual budget, Nicolau Vergueiro undertook perhaps his last defense of the parceria system he had championed since 1847. Acknowledging the "need for peopling," Vergueiro stressed Brazil's differences with the often cited examples of United States and Australia, advocating for a colonization not to "the hinterlands and forests, but . . . to established plantations" where their rate of production would exceed any potential gains from frontier settlements and the "years of misery" preceding their first harvests. Vergueiro complained that he had barely received any help from the central government and only a trifle at the provincial level, which he paid back earlier than contractually agreed. Condemning government measures that would only bloat useless bureaucracies in colonial nuclei, Vergueiro strenuously advocated for direct subsidies to empresarios like himself.

Felizardo, also in attendance, responded as the author of the Public Lands Directorate report censured by Vergueiro. Deftly but calmly rebutting Vergueiro's objections, he pointed out that confining colonos to plantations would doom them to draw subsistence from exhausted lands. Then he

[75] *O Grito Nacional*, nos. 804, 816, 817 (19 Dec. 1855, 21, 27 Feb. 1856).
[76] *O Grito Nacional*, no. 817 (27 Feb. 1856).

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demolished Vergueiro's pleas for colonization funding by pointing that the state never bankrolled planters' purchases of enslaved workers during the legal slave trade. "Is it fair," he countered, "that 10, 20, 100 or 200 planters are supplied with workers at the entire country's expense?"

Here Felizardo began to delineate the earliest definition of an official, indirect system of colonization promotion that would soon take hold. Subsidizing maritime transport lines and establishing reception centers to house migrants on arrival represented the principal means for government to sponsor spontaneous migrations in growing numbers.[77] Still, overseas migrations would not get started on their own. Clues about necessary government steps to coax them into existence were already evident in Felizardo's unfavorable response to José Vergueiro's requests months before. Interestingly, Vergueiro insisted that colonization companies heralded prosperity as he warned against the expectation that "enterprises of that carat make do with private resources and without the aid of the Powers of the State or of an Association organized with strong capital." In fact, this was precisely what Felizardo had in mind when he suggested awaiting the results of a "Central Colonization Company" then in the works.

The immediate years after the landmark laws of 1850 gave rise to a plethora of colonization paragons. Coffee planters privately pursued their own directed-migration and labor schemes. The government in turn threw its weight behind experiments such as Chinese colonization, meant in theory to displace slaves in domestic service and furnish workers for mining, sugar, and railworks, in line with the coolie rushes for Australia, British Guyana, and California. Government support for either track became a policy imperative as well as a swell of contention. Facing unexpected challenges, Ferraz, Felizardo, and others kept their faith in the government's instructive role, which it could enact by endorsing model enterprises. The "central company" mentioned by Felizardo fulfilled this very need. Its emergence signaled that government and market had come full circle onto one another: the practices of company organizing and shareholding, together with market understandings of demand, now came to structure government decisions. As explained in Chapter 6, the launch of this government-sponsored company was bracketed by two electoral reforms. Under those circumstances, its development demonstrated imperial authorities' objective learning gains in regulating the business of colonization while laying bare, ironically, that there was no such thing as a politically neutral approach to colonization companies.

[77] 16 Aug., *AS* (1855), vol. 3, 312–333.

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PART III

DISENTANGLING COMPANIES AND STATE

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6

Cabinets and Companies

Testing the Limits of the State

Numerous colonization enterprises launched or consolidated their operations in the 1850s. Two among them stood out due to the sheer ambition of their efforts to recruit, transport, and settle foreign migrants: the Mucury Company, originally established in 1847, and the Associação Central de Colonização (Central Colonization Association, hereafter ACC), founded in 1854. Both shared an interest in wide-ranging peopling projects and in record-shattering profits. Both also depended on government subsidies as their financial lifeline. They even shared members across their rosters, which signaled a growing enthusiasm for corporate colonization that transcended political inclinations. Yet the commonalities stopped where these companies'distinct ends began. As a private corporation bankrolled by the central government and captained by a trusted apparatchik of the imperial bureaucracy, the ACC sought to define itself as the leading colono supplier of the day with its base of operations in Rio. Mucury, in turn, was the brainchild of a liberal firebrand from Minas Gerais, Teófilo Ottoni, who sought to people and economically jumpstart a politically strategic corner of his home province by opening river access to the Atlantic. To enact their programs, both companies confronted logistical and political barriers that the new cabinet organized at the emperor's behest in 1857 tried to remediate in numerous if often questionable ways.

All the while, patrons' abuses and colono mutinies fed into growing denunciations of a "white slavery" that imperiled the integrity of these and other companies' operations. Despite scandals, however, company favor requests continued to stream onto the desk of the new prime minister, Pedro de Araújo Lima, known as the marquês de Olinda after

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obtaining his highest noble title in 1854. As the two most prominent company drives at the time, the ACC and Mucury hauled in problems with a high level of public exposure that compromised the Brazilian government due to its direct aid to both enterprises. The situation thus forced the new cabinet to a reckoning with its own possibilities and limitations in responding to an urgent and multifaceted conundrum. Indeed, Olinda found himself at multiple crossroads at once. One of the dilemmas arising from this scenario obligated him to choose which companies to favor and to what extent. Another involved deciding whether to give in to international recriminations against these companies' colono recruitments or to defend them against accusations of malfeasance, fraud, and egregious mistreatment of colonos.

In the background, a more familiar quandary lurked: as the unwitting heir to the marquês de Paraná and the cabinet he led from 1853 to his death in 1856, Olinda was expected to continue with the improvements expected by the emperor but also with a politics of *conciliação* (conciliation) that laid to rest the partisan animosities of the previous decade.[1] Paraná had sternly overseen a political turn toward decreased partisanship against the wishes of his fellow saquaremas. No less conservative, Olinda inherited the mantle of conciliation and its calling to preserve a tenuous peace but also a host of divisive questions left unresolved by Paraná, including whether the state should intervene directly in economic and development affairs rather than promote them from a distance. This question indicted the prior cabinet's twin pillars of improvement and conciliation, and now colonization companies' travails inevitably foisted it upon Olinda. Olinda's ministry remains a historiographical lacuna in many respects – relatively brief at one year and seven months, it was overshadowed both by the conciliação and by the magnitude of other events, including the Panic of 1857 and the Paraguayan War (1864–1870). Olinda's attitudes and actions also resist easy categorization. Even though in 1837 he had commanded the reactionaries' Regresso, he now spearheaded a heterogeneous cabinet that even included a liberal in the Finance portfolio.

[1] On conciliação, see Roderick Barman, *Citizen Emperor: Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825–1891* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 162–172; Jeffrey Needell, *The Party of Order: The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831–1871* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 163–175; Bruno Fabris Estefanes, *Conciliar o Império: O marquês de Paraná e a politica imperial* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2013).

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Colonization illuminates the blind spots surrounding Olinda's premiership, as bourgeoning company drives forced colonization to the top of his agenda. Moreover, by design as well as accident, colonization transformed Olinda into the quintessential regulator and consolidated the Brazilian government's oversight attributions over colonization companies. As such, Olinda betrays an important paradigm shift in the development of the Brazilian state. If, as an áulico in the 1840s he had traced the lineaments of a robust regulatory state in relation to colonization, the ACC, Mucury, and their tribulations only strengthened his regulatory veer. Yet they also opened the door to a more opportunistic state, as Olinda understood official backing as a tool to cut losses as much as to preempt political challenges.

Hence, this chapter examines the launch of two dashing new colonization companies, the innovations in their midst, and the political predicaments – and calculations – they gave rise to. Mucury and the ACC possessed a new edge in terms of the nature and scale of their endeavors as much as in their internal organization and operations, which renovated politicians' and businessmen's expectations regarding the promises of colonization companies.[2] Looking past their excited emergence quickly uncovers the innumerable complications these companies dregdged up. Their political underpinnings and their respective relationships to government reveal the tensions between company runs and cabinet imperatives, and shed light on how these companies' future and Olinda's politics were mutually constitutive. The ACC's and Mucury's trajectories demonstrate that political concerns were never too far from the surface of colonization company activities, which inevitably brought myriad diplomatic troubles in their wake. Yet those seemingly faulty tendencies played a crucial role in stoking government action, ultimately compelling Olinda to embody a forceful, if later politically opportunistic, regulatory swerve.

[2] For two studies on some business aspects of the ACC's and Mucury's activities, see Maria Isabel de Jesus Chrysostomo and Laurent Vidal, "Une histoire oubliée: L'Association Centrale de Colonisation de Rio de Janeiro et la marchandisation de l'emigration européenne (1857–1865)," in *La migration européenne aux Amériques: pour un dialogue entre histoire et littérature*, ed. Didier Poton, Micéala Symington, and Laurent Vidal (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 23–39; and Maria Cristina Nunes Ferreira Neto, "Autobiografia, 'conciliação' e concessões: A Companhia do Mucuri e o projeto de colonização de Theophilo Ottoni," in *Monarquia, Liberalismo e Negócios no Brasil: 1780–1860*, ed. Izabel Andrade Marson and Cecília de Salles Oliveira (São Paulo: Edusp, 2013), 277–312.

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THE MUCURY COMPANY, OR COLONIZATION AS A POLITICAL GAMBLE

The notorious exaltado deputy Teófilo Ottoni stepped back from politics at the tail end of the so-called Liberal quinquennium (1844–1848), tired of the reformist timidity of successive liberal-moderate cabinets.[3] Ottoni had not become a radical overnight. As the first of eleven children, and a third-generation descendant of a Genoese exile who settled in Minas in the 1720s, Teófilo came of age in the Vila do Príncipe, where he and his brothers learned Latin and read the hallmarks of classical republicanism. In 1828, he graduated at the top of his class from the Navy Academy in Rio, while living with his uncle, a Romantic poet and veteran deputy of the Lisbon Courts, and mingling with journalist Evaristo da Veiga and then-moderate Vasconcelos. Then, as an official vote counter in the 1828 elections, Ottoni had the gall to fine the War minister for an apparent breach. In retribution, he received orders to station in Africa or the Amazon but opted instead to abandon the Navy and return to his hometown, where in 1832 he set up the *Sentinella do Serro*, a newspaper guided by republican and democratic principles, and a political association, the Sociedade Promotora do Bem Público. Elected to the new provincial assembly in 1835, and to the Chamber of Deputies in 1839, Ottoni joined a secret society organized by Antônio Carlos de Andrada and went on to spearhead the liberal uprising of 1842 in Minas.[4] He was soon imprisoned and condemned for insurrection, but his sentence was commuted by the general amnesty of 1844. Ottoni then rushed back into the Chamber as part of a liberal comeback but by 1847 became deeply disillusioned.[5]

Ottoni may have sensed conservatives' impending return when he poured his energies into the Mucury Navigation and Colonization Company, and so his turn to colonization did not represent a political capitulation but rather a voyage deeper into politics. The new company primarily aimed to open river access to the northern regions of Minas Gerais, but colonization soon became its principal remit. The company's peopling activities could have important electoral repercussions. The

[3] Needell, *Party of Order*, 109–111.

[4] *O Brasil*, nos. 130, 143 (18 May, 22 June 1841).

[5] José Antônio Marinho, *História do movimento político que no anno de 1842 teve lugar na província de Minas Geraes*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de J. E. S. Cabral, 1844); Erik Hörner, *Até os limites da política: A "revolução liberal" de 1842 em São Paulo e Minas Gerais* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2014).

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districts where Mucury operated already contained a large population hovering around 411,309, most of it free according to Ottoni. A demographic uptick by means of "a great number of emigrants and colonos" could potentially deliver new voters, particularly after the 1846 electoral reform established property qualifications of as little as 200$ for *votantes*, or first-round voters (those who voted for "second-round" electors but could still vote for councilmen and local judges), which meant that colonos could qualify once they naturalized.[6] This voter increase would technically help Ottoni carve out a new province in northern Minas and improve his chances for representation at the Court.[7] Ultimately, Ottoni aimed at a landslide victory over conservative provincial antagonists to upset the balance of representation in the imperial legislature.

To begin, Ottoni rekindled provincial ties long cultivated by his family in a region adrift from influential mineiros at the Court. Close relatives hopped into action. While his brother Cristiano ran for the Chamber to keep a political lifeline, cousin Honório Esteves provided practical intelligence as director of Indians in the Mucuri region and as provincial commissioner appointed to study river navigation in 1846. Another cousin who was a councilman in Minas Novas connected Ottoni to a regional elite vying for the creation of a new province. When Ottoni opened the first subscriptions, his family snatched 577 of 1,000 available shares, that is, 58 percent of the Company's initial public offering, with regional elites taking the rest together with prestigious backers like the liberal tycoon visconde de Mauá, the second largest subscriber after Ottoni.[8] With its start-up capital secured, the Mucury Company obtained imperial and provincial contracts on May and August 1847. Ottoni then launched expeditions on the Mucuri river to render a clear idea of rapids and unnavigable portions in its course, discovering that steamships could only reach up to the very first waterfall. This transfer point, Santa Clara, was 22 leagues distant from Minas Novas but still offered a better option

[6] Teófilo Ottoni, *Companhia do Mucury. História da empresa. Importância dos seus privilégios. Alcance de seus projectos* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1856), 9–14.

[7] On plans for a new province in northern Minas, see Juliana Pereira Ramalho, "Minas Novas: Um projeto de província nos sertões – povoamento e concentração fundiária na freguesia de São Pedro do Fanado (1834–1857)" (PhD diss., Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto, 2018).

[8] *Relatório do presidente da província MG* (1847), 44–46; Ramalho, "Minas Novas," 122–186.

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than the 160–180 leagues of mule-pack trails separating Minas Novas from the Court. Indeed, investors remained enthusiastic about making the Mucuri "rich and populated." Within weeks, speculators and planters from across the province hastily and informally claimed lands by posse, grabbing the most profitable locations along the projected commercial thoroughfare after the press trumpeted "the immense profits" that awaited the Mucury Company.[9]

Ottoni thrived amid recurrent challenges. Despite the new conservative ministry of 1848 (which, nonetheless, included colonization-friendly figures like Monte Alegre and Olinda) and the fraudulent 1849 elections abetted by the central government, Ottoni secured a two-year extension to meet some of his contractual obligations from a lame-duck provincial assembly. But in 1850, the incoming president tried to sabotage him, authorizing the province to become the leading shareholder by purchasing 1,000 shares. In 1854, the provincial assembly finally authorized the credit necessary for Minas to purchase shares and effectively become the new majority shareholder. As such, the provincial government demanded a drastic increase in the maximum votes allowed for any single shareholder, changing the ceiling from the prior limit of 6–40 votes in what amounted to a corporate takeover.

Yet the change freed Ottoni to focus on his management role and continue attending to the trouble-plagued roadworks from Santa Clara to the Mucuri tributary of Todos os Santos. The first Portuguese workers brought from Rio either deserted or fell ill, and the Polish engineer and recruiter hired by Ottoni was killed. Ottoni carried on, pressing his brother on surveying activities and accelerating transport between Rio and the São José port on the Mucuri delta, a 30-hour trip that could be delayed by up to 30 days by stopovers in nearby Caravelas. When the imperial government offered an 18-conto subsidy for a navigation line to Espírito Santo, Ottoni sat on the Praça do Comércio's special commission examining bids and successfully offered his own, aiming for the subvention even if his ships would have to stop in Vitória before docking at São José. With the help of ex-minister Monte Alegre, Ottoni obtained the contract and purchased the 70-contos-worth *Mucury* steamer, showing

[9] Teófilo Benedito Ottoni and Honório Benedito Ottoni, *Condições para a encorporação de uma companhia de commercio e navegação do rio Mucury precedidas de uma exposição das vantagens da empresa* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imp. e Const. de J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1847), 11–12, 41–51; *JC*, no. 246 (5 Sept. 1847); *O Mercantil* (MG), no. 315 (11 Nov. 1847).

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his ability to surmount logistical challenges and rally conservatives to his cause.[10]

Ottoni's brio found its complement in relatively equitable, transparent, and accountable corporate practices, which helped the company stand out among other enterprises. Mucury's original rules allowed a gradual increment of shareholder voting power at the rate of one vote for every five shares bought but capped the maximum votes at six, thus limiting the power of the largest shareholders. As early as 1852, an independent audit commission of shareholders that included Ottoni's friend Mauá concluded that "one must admire what the director has accomplished and at such little expense," forecasting that its "conspicuous administration ... could soon place the Mucury Company as one of the most useful, prosperous and brilliant associations of the Empire." By 1854, the Company enjoyed a respectable position among public companies at the Court, yielding a yearly dividend of 10$618 for every 300$ share, which made it the third most lucrative company, even ahead of Mauá's Amazon Company, and allowed Ottoni to boast that no other enterprise "offered so many and such secure guarantees of prosperity."[11]

Regarding settlement, however, the 1852 commission struck a somber note. Even Ottoni admitted that the Company had "dragged its feet in colonization matters."[12] Mucury contractually agreed with the Minas government that two-thirds of its labor would be free and preferably foreign and promised the imperial government to populate its land grant with 60 colono couples per square league within a decade. The auditors recommended eliminating obstacles to smooth colonization operations, including internal passport taxes for colonos instituted by an 1842

[10] Law no. 332 (3 Apr. 1847) *Coleção das Leis Mineiras*, vol. 13 (Ouro Preto: Tipografia Imparcial, 1847), 63–65; Law no. 453 (20 Oct. 1849), *CLM*, vol. 15 (Ouro Preto: Tipografia Episcopal, 1849), 35–37; *Relatório do presidente da província MG* (1853), 18–19; Law no. 678 (10 May 1854), *CLM*, vol. 20 (Ouro Preto: Tipografia do Bom Senso, 1854), 33–34; *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 147, 226 (27 May 1852, 17 Aug. 1854). On electoral violence in Minas, see Judy Bieber, *Power, Patronage, and Political Violence: State Building on a Brazilian Frontier, 1822–1889* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 90–100, 143–144; Ana Paula Ribeiro Freitas, "Minas e a política imperial: Reformas eleitorais e representação política no parlamento brasileiro (1853–1863)" (PhD diss., USP, 2015).

[11] *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 160, 246 (9 June 1852, 6 Sept. 1854); Ottoni and Ottoni, *Condições*, 20.

[12] Ottoni, *Companhia*, 5; Teófilo Ottoni, *A colonização do Mucury: Memória justificativa em que se explica o estado actual dos colonos estabelecidos no Mucury e as causas dos recentes acontecimentos naquela colonia* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Brasiliense, 1859), 15.

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ordinance.[13] Meanwhile, Ottoni sought to cut losses by addressing indigenous depredations on his colony, christened Filadelfia in accordance to his democratic creed. To do so, he employed "pacification" strategies including gift exchanges and Indian *língoas* (translators) to establish a regional diplomacy with itinerant indigenous groups, one of whose ultimate intentions was to turn indigenous peoples to seasonal agricultural work to supply foodstuffs for incoming colonos. Yet Ottoni's "pacification" lost to his concern with the security of property. When some Indians attacked a company expedition, Ottoni welcomed plans for a military colony in the area and periodically continued to ask the president for reinforcements.[14]

The Mucury Company rapidly turned to peopling as its principal activity, maximizing any available opportunity to obtain and retain foreign settlers. The new Urucú military colony provided a haven for the first cohorts. Aware that a fungal blight devastated vineyards in Madeira, Ottoni recruited 153 colonos from the island who made it to Urucú in 1855 and were "swimming in abundance" by the time 162 Belgians and Dutch joined them in 1858. In addition to the slaves employed by Ottoni and the indigenous groups around Filadelfia and Santa Clara, Portuguese islanders, German speakers, and Chinese colonos diversified Company rosters. Similarly, Ottoni varied his catchment strategies but always relied on trusted employees rather than "ordinary colonization agents who obtain a prize for every colono they hire." Robert Schlobach – the new head engineer – siphoned colonos through Hamburg. Another agent, a Prussian by the name of Moritz Horn, set out to Potsdam to hire colonos with the aid of his father, a local politician. Ottoni himself hired a hundred Chinese colonos from the imperial government's contract with Sampson & Tappan, later claiming that he never considered the Chinese as colonos but as ideal wage laborers, or "machines to substitute slave workers."[15]

[13] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 160 (9 June 1852); Law no. 261 (3 Dec.), Regulamento no. 120 (31 Jan.); *CLIB* (1841, 1842).

[14] Untitled letter, Ottoni to MG president (Ouro Preto: Typographia do Bom Senso, 1853); Teófilo Ottoni, *Notícia sobre os selvagens do Mucury* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Brasiliense de Maximiano Gomes Ribeiro, 1858); "Navegação do Mucury," *Correio Mercantil*, no. 201 (28 July 1854); Ottoni to MG president Carlos Carneiro de Campos (17 Mar. 1859), in Ottoni, *A colonização*, 16–17; Weder Ferreira da Silva, "Colonização, política e negócios: Teófilo Benedito Ottoni e a trajetória da Companhia do Mucuri (1847–1863)" (MA thesis, Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto, 2009), 115–116.

[15] Ottoni to Brazil's consul in Switzerland (19 Dec. 1855), Ottoni to Olinda (15 June 1858), Ottoni to Empire minister Sérgio Teixeira de Macedo (31 Mar. 1859), in Ottoni,

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Ottoni also sought to benefit from a resurgent Portuguese colono trade that entailed familiar complications. He contracted Antônio Martins Lage, the shipping magnate who refused the SPC presidency back in 1837 and who owned the Ilha das Enxadas, a lucrative shipyard and charcoal station in Guanabara Bay. Lage cleared the 1,000-ton, copper-lined Brazilian galleon *Palmyra* with the Navy Auditor, as required, and tried to acquit his captain from a scandal in 1856 concerning a colono voyage overcrowded with minors and passportless emigrants.[16] In São Miguel, the *Palmyra* offered travel advances and free passage to Mucuri, free room and board for ten months in Santa Clara, some wardrobe, a modest stipend, and the possibility of buying or leasing land from the Company. But the 224 colonos who arrived in Rio on January 1858 refused to continue on to Mucuri. Rather than obligate them, Ottoni rescinded their contracts without charge and tried to recoup losses by luring colonos from other enterprises. When 70 Portuguese workers landed from Porto for the ACC and a larger load of 232 colonos from Prussia, Hesse, Holstein for the União e Indústria Company, Ottoni published an advertisement addressed "to the colonos recently arrived from Europe" offering free travel to Mucuri and land on credit.[17]

For the colonos who took him at his word, Ottoni made good on his promises and showed care for their health. At Santa Clara, he relied on Dr. Manoel Esteves Ottoni and on two "well known medics" from Rio to tend to the sickly. When a bout of typhoid hit, he allowed Dr. Robert Avé-Lallemant to take colonos for more medical care at the Court. Later, he also got in touch with the marquês de Abrantes, then president of the Casa da Misericórdia, to keep track of 86 colonos he had sent for treatment due to "ulcers in their feet," fevers, and gastro-intestinal conditions. Foreign observers attested to Ottoni's concerns for colono well-being in this epidemiologically challenging environment, with some

A colonização do Mucury, 5–15; *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 152, 286, 143 (15 June, 19 Oct. 1857, 28 May 1858); "Die Mucury-Kolonien," *Allgemeine Auswanderungszeitung*, no. 22 (3 June 1859).

[16] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}121, Felizardo to Foreign Affairs minister (13 Nov. 1856); GIFI-6H-13, Extract on Antônio Martins Lage (20 Mar. 1857). The *Palmyra* also carried 144 colonos to Rio in 1855–1856. *Imprensa e lei* nº 527 (23 May 1855); *JC*, nos. 63, 106 (4 Mar., 17 Apr. 1856); *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 62, 5 (4 Mar. 1857, 5 Jan. 1858); Thiago Mantuano, "A Ilha das Enxadas sob domínio da família Lage (1823–1882)," *H-industri@* 14, no. 26 (2020): 1–15.

[17] *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 143, 177, 110 (28 May, 2 July 1858, 21 Apr. 1859).

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emphasizing colonos' ability to send remittances to their families and even grow their own food within 8 or 10 months of arrival.[18]

Yet Ottoni's concern for colonos was not entirely selfless. His relatives and associates benefited considerably from their presence once they acquired the first available plots in Filadelfia and offered them to colonos through *aforamento*, a type of long-term land lease.[19] Teófilo's brothers Augusto and Ernesto also bought lands along Todos os Santos to establish *chácaras* (farmsteads) for local provisioning. Ernesto, cousin Tristão Vieira, Minas Novas notables, and even Robert Schlobach's brother set up earthenware, hardware, and wholesale shops starting in 1857. Ottoni's circle, then, built land and commercial markets on the backs of arriving foreigners and the thousand or so Brazilian squatters living around Santa Clara and Filadelfia.[20]

The Mucury Company fell behind its contractual obligations notwithsatnding its bustling activities. In late 1855, the imperial government allotted more lands to the Company and land sales proceeded apace, but colono importation rates lagged behind. Up to 1858, Ottoni imported 1,113 foreigners, with a real net total of 1,091. This put the Company behind its commitment to import 1,000 colonos per year between 1857 and 1859 in exchange for a 300-conto interest-free government loan to be disbursed gradually as Ottoni fulfilled migrant quotas. But costs were already prohibitive. Colono recruitment and transport to Rio, and then to Mucuri, exhausted the Company's accounts, which Ottoni dented further by forgiving colono contracts or debts. From 1857 to 1859, colonization-related expenses more than doubled from 5.88 percent to 12.8 percent of the total operating budget.[21]

During that time, other companies outsmarted or outshone Mucury. The Amazon Company imported 963 Portuguese colonos directly to Pará

[18] Ottoni to Abrantes (28 Mar. 1859), certificates of Portuguese vice-consul Jerónimo José Duarte e Silva and Saxon consul Davis Moers (4 Apr. 1859), in Ottoni, *A colonização do Mucury*, 35–40, 51–55.

[19] Aforamento, or emphyteutic lease, was a kind of property contract by which a landowner retained property rights while *foreiros*, or those who inhabited or used it for a fee, received lifelong right to its improvement and usufruct. This right, or *foro*, was inheritable.

[20] Teófilo Benedito Ottoni, *Relatório apresentado aos accionistas da Companhia do Mucury* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1857), 23–24, annex nos. 1–3, reproduced in Valdei Lopes de Araújo, ed., *Teófilo Ottoni e a Companhia do Mucuri: A modernidade possível* (Belo Horizonte: Arquivo Público Mineiro, 2007).

[21] Ottoni, *Relatório* (1857); "Balanço," *Relatório apresentado aos accionistas da Companhia do Mucury* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Correio Mercantil, 1860).

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within three years of incorporation but abandoned colono drives in 1857 after contemplating their huge expenses.[22] The Companhia União e Indústria incorporated in 1854 by Mariano Procópio Ferreira Lage for macadamized roadwork between Petrópolis and Juíz de Fora struck an almost identical deal as Mucury's by committing to 2,000 foreign workers within three years in return for an interest-free 200-conto loan from the imperial government (disbursable in five installments versus Mucury's three). After a failed recruitment drive in Schleswig-Holstein in 1858, Procópio's recruiter in Hamburg reported immense difficulties in finding emigrants willing to head to the projected colony of Pedro II, just beyond the União e Indústria's endpoint in Minas. Yet Procópio sought Dr. Schmidt's help, and before the end of the year, 1,170 colonos arrived from Hamburg – 370 more than he requested. By the end of the decade, 1,112 colonos had permanently settled in Pedro II as the road inched toward Petrópolis.[23]

In vain, Ottoni sought help from the ACC instead, which ceded only some colonos to make up for the *Palmyra*'s Azoreans even though, Ottoni noted, "the hostel at the Ilha do Bom Jesus was full to the brim." Besides this "provocation," these colonos allegedly included "proven harlots, ex-sailors and veterans" from the "taverns and public squares of Europe." Ottoni also got the cold shoulder from ACC president Manuel Vieira Tosta, barão de Muritiba, when he requested a credit to help colonos defray land clearance costs. The ACC was then striving to become the leading colono purveyor for individuals and firms alike and as such became Mucury's top competitor in recruitment activities. Ottoni complained to Olinda that his company could barely meet colono quotas "due to the ruinous competition carried out by ACC agents against [Mucury's] correspondents in Europe." Only an advance of Mucury's government loan could offset the deleterious effects of the ACC recruitments. But no funds would be forthcoming. Olinda had too much at stake to walk back on his support for the ACC, especially amid the tenuous balance of forces he sought to maintain in the post-conciliation.[24]

[22] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 235 (24 Aug. 1855); Luiz Pedreira Couto Ferraz, *Relatório do Império* (1856), 33–34; Sousa (Mauá), *Relatório*, 1–7.

[23] AMI, (POB)-m.126-doc. 6239, [G. C. Giebert] to Procópio (3 Mar. 1858); "Termo de contracto" (25 Apr. 1857) in Mariano Procópio Ferreira Lage, *Relatório da Companhia União e Indústria* (Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Nacional do Diário, 1857), 32–34; *Relatório apresentado á assembléa geral dos accionistas da Companhia União e Indústria* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1858), 10–12; and (1860), 11–12, annex no. 11.

[24] Ottoni to Muritiba (24 Sept. 1858), Ottoni, *A colonização*, 17–18, 20.

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THE ACME OF GOVERNMENT-RUN PEOPLING

The ACC was the brainchild of Bernardo Augusto Nascentes de Azambuja, who made a name for himself as municipal judge at the Court and ascended to important district judge seats as a result of overseeing a case against senator José Martiniano de Alencar (Sr.) for alleged involvement in the liberal uprisings of 1842. By the early 1850s, Azambuja sat as 1 of the 10 deputies for Rio in the Chamber. As in Ottoni's case, family ties were central to Azambuja, whose entry into politics and his stability as a middling bureaucrat owed much to a coterie of brothers in similarly middling positions in the Imperial Chamber, Rio's police, and the administrative backbenches of various ministries.[25]

With his siblings as a weatherglass, Azambuja articulated the ACC's principles in a string of articles at the start of 1853. He began with a call for the "rightful execution" of the 1850 Land Law and for the "wealthiest planters" to "gradually substitute slave service with free labor." Then, Azambuja proposed a centralized association to promote foreign migration to Brazil through government and private funds, in close collaboration with European emigration agencies and in communication with new welcoming hubs in provincial capitals across the Empire. His ideas invoked Land Law stipulations empowering government to import a fixed number of colonos at the expense of the Treasury and to issue additional credits whenever costs exceeded budget allocations for colonization. Finally, Azambuja's blueprint also prioritized surveying and selling public lands as much as propaganda to battle German newspapers' "calumnies" against emigration to Brazil.[26]

Azambuja's proposal incited the Empire minister and one-time empresario hopeful Francisco Gonçalves Martins to call a commission to draft the ordinance activating the Land Law, which he filled with old colonization mavericks like Calmon, Paraíba Valley plantaters Baependi and José Teixeira Leite, and ex-SPC member Caetano Alberto Soares. The Land Ordinance passed in 1854 and established a Lands and Colonization Department with the unserendipitous selection of Azambuja as its interim

[25] José Martiniano de Alencar, *Resposta dada ao Senado ... sobre a pronúncia contra elle feita pelo juíz municipal da 2.ª vara Bernardo Augusto Nascentes de Azambuja, no processo organisado na Côrte pelos movimentos de S. Paulo e Minas* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1843); *Almanak administrativo, mercantil e industrial* (Rio de Janeiro: Eduardo e Henrique Laemmert, 1851).

[26] *DRJ*, nos. 1, 6, 12, 13, 16, 20, 21, 26, 36, 38, 42, 44 (1, 7, 13–14, 17, 21–22, 27 Jan., 6, 8, 12, 14 Feb. 1853); *Correio Mercantil*, no. 36 (6 Feb. 1853).

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director. The appointment helped the ACC take root by giving Azambuja an insider's view of emergent policy proposals and colonization efforts in newly opening frontiers.

As the ACC incorporated, Azambuja accompanied minister Ferraz's 1855 decree abolishing restrictive residency permits for foreigners and allowing them to use their passports for travel within the Empire and a later decree expediting naturalization procedures by eliminating residency prerequisites and allowing district councils and justices of peace to certify requests. Shortly after, a budget law established the first regulations over colono transports by tethering anchorage exemptions for colono vessels to yet-to-be-determined rules.[27] Azambuja may have also gotten wind of novel ideas conveyed through diplomatic channels. From Madrid, for instance, Francisco de Varnhagen proposed an Empire-wide land census geared to establish property taxes on both cultivated and fallow lands, a corrective for the ills of large-holding perpetuated by the Land Ordinance of 1854. In his view, properties reverting to public lands, including aforamentos (to be abolished under the project's terms), should be sold and priced according to their distance to the nearest urban center or rail line, but, Varnhagen believed, empresarios involved in "European agricultural colonization" should also receive free land grants. From Berlin, consul Sturz also championed an "adequate general land tax" to fix Brazil's "shoddy colonization" and eliminate "emphytheutic schemes" and parceria contracts so as to outcompete Montevideo's new consul in Berlin, who was speculating in lands to give German emigration a "concentrated direction" toward Uruguay.[28]

Azambuja may have downplayed these international threats as he came to understand that internal frontiers like the newly created province of Paraná generated strong demand for colono-provisioning companies like the ACC. Carved out of the southern paulista district of Curitiba, Paraná speedily evolved into an export powerhouse linked to Buenos Aires, Valparaíso, and Montevideo. Even though its main port, Paranaguá, lagged behind Rio or Salvador, by 1855 it outstripped Desterro, doubling the latter's revenues and tripling its export values. New colonies in Paraná, however, took time to flourish, including

[27] Decree no. 1531 (10 Jan); no. 808-A (23 June); law no. 840 (15 Sept.), *CLIB* (1855), vol. 1, 3–4, 45; vol. 2, 30–33, 311–319.

[28] Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *Projecto de uma lei addicional à das terras públicas, com a imposição do censo por maior e favores aos que promovam a colonisação agrícola no Brazil* (Madrid: Viuva D. R. J. Domínguez, 1856); AMI, m. 122-doc. 6084, J. J. Sturz, "Observação sobre a emigração alemã" (4 Aug. 1855).

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Charles Peret Gentil's Superaguy, whose director lasted but eight months.[29] Paraná's first president, Zacarias de Góis e Vasconcelos, blamed Indian raids such as the one against the military colony of Guarapuava and probably bristled at Kaingang, Guaraní, or Kaiowá peoples' negotiations with the imperial government to secure land claims, at times successfully.[30] The ACC could, at any rate, help colonization endeavors establish a firmer footing by purveying colonos to self-styled frontiersman like João da Silva Machado, Luiz Vergueiro's co-organizer in the Santos colonization company back in 1836. Machado, known as barão de Antonina, was a liberal linked by kin to the Vergueiros who had nonetheless combated the revolts of 1842 and consequently earned his title. In 1854, he became senator for Paraná and continued to expand ongoing roadworks with liberated Africans around the military colony of Jataí. As Antonina lobbied for military outposts like the ones built in Pernambuco and Alagoas in the proximity of indigenous settlements, the imperial government authorized eight new indigenous colonies next to presidios or old Jesuit aldéas along the Paraná river as part of a larger flurry of measures for Paraná's development.[31] Antonina thus began importing Portuguese settlers to new outposts as far inland as Mato

[29] AN, GIFI-4J-86, interim Paranaguá customs inspector to Empire minister Ferraz (22 Sept. 1855); Carneiro Leão, *Proposta e relatório da fazenda* (1856), annex nos. 42 and 53; AMI, M. 122-doc. 6084, Sturz, "Observação"; Vitor Marcos Gregório, "A emancipação negociada: Os debates sobre a criação da província do Paraná e o sistema representativo imperial, 1843," *RBH* 35, no. 69 (2015): 319–341; Alessandro Cavassin Alves, "A província do Paraná (1853–1889): A classe política, a parentela no governo" (PhD diss., UFPR, 2014).

[30] AMI, I-ZGV-22.03.1854-Ara.c, José Tomás Nabuco de Araújo to Zacarias (22 Mar. 1853). Almir Antonio de Souza, "A lei de terras no Brasil Império e os índios do planalto meridional: A luta política e diplomática do Kaingang Vitorino Condá (1845–1870)," *RBH* 35, no. 70 (2015): 109–130; Soraia Sales Dornelles, "A questão indígena e o Império: Índios, terra, trabalho e violência na província paulista, 1845–1891" (PhD diss. Unicamp, 2017), 65–79.

[31] IHGB-(0), Lata 205, doc. 49 "Parecer sobre contrato celebrado pela Colônia Militar de Jatahi com Feliciano Nepomuceno Prates" (26 Sept. 1859); Maria Cristina Cortez Wissenbach, "Desbravamento e catequese na constituição da nacionalidade brasileira: As expedições do barão de Antonina no Brasil meridional," *RBH* 15, no. 30 (1995): 137–155; Luiz Adriano Gonçalves Borges, "Senhor de homens, de terras e de animais: A trajetória política e econômica de João da Silva Machado (Província de São Paulo, 1800–1853)" (PhD diss., Universidade Federal do Paraná, 2014); Beatriz Mamigonian, *Africanos livres: A abolição do tráfico de escravos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2017), 310–311; Amaro Hélio Leite da Silva, "Colônia militar Leopoldina: 'das matas incultas' às 'matas civilizadas' (1851–1867)" (PhD diss., UFPE, 2016); Aylla Oliveira Silva, *Ordem imperial e aldeamento indígena: Camacãns, gueréns e pataxós do sul da Bahia* (Ilhéus: Editora da Universidade Estadual de Santa Cruz, 2018).

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Grosso, confirming for Azambuja a growing market demand for colonos.[32]

As novel ideas circulated and agrarian frontiers ratcheted up, Azambuja officially incorporated the ACC in April 1855 in an inaugural assembly at the Praça do Comércio. Eighty-six attendees commanding up to 377 votes and covering two-thirds of available shares quickly confirmed Azambuja as vice-president. The largely symbolic presidency unanimously went to the marquês de Monte Alegre. Two others elected to the executive board had also matched Azambuja with 373 votes: Luiz Peixoto de Lacerda Werneck, the author of *Idéas sobre colonisação*, and Francisco José Fialho. Meanwhile, elected members for an administrative council – a consultive body for the board – included former áulicos and statesmen from the imperial stratosphere such as Abrantes and the visconde de Ipanema, whose lands south of the Court the ACC could tap for colonos.

The ACC's charter and board elections strengthened Azambuja's hand to negotiate government benefits and solidify the ACC as a profit-yielding enterprise with at least five income streams: transatlantic transport costs aboard its own vessels or chartered ships; sales, leases, or aforamentos of any land under its ownership; fees charged to "spontaneous emigrants" seeking its services or staying at its hostel; interest rates on colono loans; and room and board services to its own recently arrived colonos. In the run-up to the ACC's government contract of 1857 negotiated with Manoel Felizardo, the new director of the Lands and Colonization Directorate, Azambuja secured a new source of earnings: a 30$ government prize for every adult colono, and 20$ for minors aged 5–10, plus an interest-free 1,000-conto government loan to import 50,000 colonos within 5 years.[33] Stable revenue sources and government privileges tethered to company performance seemd to foolproof ACC finances.

Azambuja drafted statutes that greatly eased requirements for participation relative to other colonization companies by offering one of the

[32] BN, Manuscritos-Col. Galvão-374,01,004 no. 026, prime minister Paraná to Empire minister Ferraz (24 Oct. 1854); IHGB-(sn), Lata 384, livro 2-"Regulamento para as colonias de indígenas" (1855); AN, GIFI-4J-86, barão de Antonina to Ferraz (5 Aug. 1855); Decrees nos. 1562, 1583 (21 Feb., 2 Apr.), *CLIB* (1855), vol. 1, 135, 310; Edilson Pereira Brito, "Soldados da nação: Os praças e a guarda nacional na província do Paraná (segunda metade do século XIX)" (PhD diss., Unicamp, 2018), 43–80, 157–168.

[33] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}46, Azambuja, "Proposta" (25 Apr. 1855); Azambuja to Ferraz (27 Nov. 1855); *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 134, 151, 164 (15, 22 May, 14 June 1856); Decree no. 1915 (28 Mar.), *CLIB* (1857), vol. 2, 123–134.

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cheapest share prices at the time(100$), at half the cost of one Banco do Brasil share, a third of Mucury's, a quarter of an Amazon Company's, and five and ten times more affordable respectively than a single entry into União e Indústria and the Macaé and Campos navigation company. Also, subscribers could transfer their shares and thus underwrite other commercial transactions, and exchange scrip for equivalent value in ACC land plots. Azambuja also facilitated participation in general assemblies by setting the quorum for biannual meetings at one-quarter of all shareholders and allowing absent members to delegate votes to other members.

With these generous conditions, the public readily welcomed the ACC. Some 267 shareholders had signed up at the time of the government contract. Voting was initially staggered at 1 vote per 10-share interval up to 100 shares. Between 100 and a ceiling of 300 shares, members only obtained 1 vote per 50 shares. Hence, while a considerable cleavage existed in company participation between the members with the least shares and those with the most, the latter's power was capped at 14 votes. Even the smallest shareholders enjoyed a modicum of representation: ownership of 5–10 shares yielded 1 vote, eligibility for board positions started at 10. Only 14 percent of subscribers owned more than 50 shares. The rest leaned heavily toward the middle and lowest ranks of ownership, with 25.5 percent owning exactly 50 shares, and 45 percent owning 20 shares or less (Figure 6.1). The ACC's low entry threshold led to membership concentration in the lowest rates. Meanwhile, middle-tier shareholders made up the largest single group and left a wide gap between them and the highest-rate shareholders because they probably found greater voting power less appealing, given that such a large cohort of low-rate members had a balancing effect over the voting power of those with the most shares. This solid low- and middle-ownership base that did not require more shares to have their voices heard made the ACC into a less seigneurial company than the SPC or CCB. Wheras five viscondes, three barões, and three marqueses featured as members, bureaucrats,

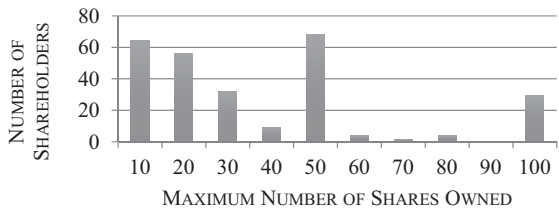

FIGURE 6.1 Distribution of ACC share ownership, 1857

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merchants, and military men made the bulk of ACC and contributed decisively not only to increasing its start-up capital to 1.557:500$ by 1857, but also producing a 731-réis dividend.[34]

Soon, the ACC assembled a remarkable colono conveyance network. In Rio, it leased the Santo Antônio convent and opened a hostel in the Ilha do Bom Jesus to house arriving colonos until they were contracted by third parties. As part of renegotiations in 1857, the imperial household ceded one of its properties, the Quinta do Cajú in the present-day area of the Ilha do Fundão, with its yearly pension of 2:400$000, for the construction of a large-scale migrant inn. Overseas, the company organized a competitive recruitment system. It subcontracted ad hoc recruitment drives in the Azores, bringing in one shipload of 116 in 1858 and another of 245 colonos in 1859, and it opened agencies in Paris, Porto, and Berlin, which respectively hauled 1,563, 569, and 137 colonos to Brazil in 1858.[35]

A diverse cast manned these agencies. In Berlin, the ACC hired Dr. Schmidt, Brazil's old vice-consul, who had the experience to surmount Prussian strictures against emigration. In Paris, a close friend of ACC board member Fialho who worked at the Brazilian legation facilitated contact with a French firm, H. Beaucourt & Comp., hired to supply 6,000 colonos to the ACC.[36] Meanwhile in Porto, the ACC depended on Guilherme Augusto Machado Pereira, a wealthy merchant who resided in Brazil until 1852 and sat on the fiscal board of the Banco Mercantil Portuense. At lower pay, the ACC also employed a cunning recruiter by the name of Antonio Joaquim de Andrade Villares, who had hired colonos for the barão de Nova Friburgo and could more inconspicuously recruit colonos without passports and even minors, helping the ACC meet its migrant quotas by illicit means.[37]

[34] *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 36, 246 (6 Feb. 1853, 6 Sept. 1854); *DRJ*, no. 107 (21 Apr. 1857); *JC*, no. 108 (21 Apr. 1857); Manuel Vieira Tosta, *Relatório da Associação Central de Colonisação apresentado a Assembléa Geral dos Accionistas na sessão de 18 de Janeiro de 1859* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1859).

[35] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 117 (2 May 1858); Tosta, *Relatório*, 7–9; Cândido Borges Monteiro, *Relatório da Associação Central de Colonisação apresentado á Assembléa Geral dos Accionistas na sessão de 1 de maio de 1860* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Paíz, 1860).

[36] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}46, Manuel Teixeira Coimbra report (6 July 1860), Bento José Martins to [...] (18 July 1860).

[37] Tosta, *Relatório*; *Diário do Maranhão*, no. 45 (25 Apr. 1857); Jorge Fernandez Alves, "Os 'brasileiros': Emigração e retorno no Porto oitocentista" (PhD diss., Universidade do Porto, 1993), 154–155, 180–181.

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Yet the ACC's ballooning costs provoked a polemic about the government's obligations to colonization companies. In April 1858, critics maligned private colonization as a racket that exhausted public funds in the name of the common good.[38] The main attack came from an anonymous contributor nicknamed Vadius, later revealed to be the conservative mathematician Cândido Baptista de Oliveira. As enovy to Russia, Cândido Baptista had mailed colonization literature back to Brazil; as provincial vice-president, he helped Aureliano with the Delrue colonos. But, as Vadius, he believed that "colonization for money" was "the worst kind" and thought it unconscionable that "respectable ... personalities at the court" condoned "making money" as the ACC's ultimate goal. Vadius claimed that the ACC's outsized government loan was meant to pay its top managers and called attention to the Empire minister's scandalous guarantees of a 7 percent return in dividends at all costs. Dovetailing with sardonic criticisms of "the wages, bonuses ... and subventions" for the "great management services" charged by ACC principals, Vadius ran the numbers and concluded that government subsidies would feed the problem by mushrooming beyond projections with per capita prizes on colonos rising to 42$, exponentially costlier than Herman Blumenau's and Léonce Aubé's rate of 5$, and Montravel's and Caetano Dias's 13$. In Vadius's view, government could only make good on returns if it instead surveyed and readied lands for sale to incentivize both foreign and Brazilian settlers. Even though over the course of several weeks two other aliases – Junius and Alpha – responded feverishly to these claims, citing Pedro II's throne speeches and the late Paraná's own sanction of the the 6,000-conto ACC credit, Vadius carried the day.[39]

In the heat of controversy, Monte Alegre resigned as ACC's president. Azambuja then issued a public explanation of the ACC's shortcomings, citing an "insufficiency of means at its disposal" that handicapped it in relation to other countries' colono recruitment drives. The ACC tried renegotiating its government contract, raising per capita prizes to 80–120$ for the first 4,000 individuals – far higher than Vadius imagined – and trying to apply its 2,000-conto loan, used mainly as credit for planters to request colonos, to other uses.[40] In return for these

[38] *JC*, no. 79 (21 Mar. 1857).
[39] For the pieces by Vadius, *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 97, 109 (12, 24 Apr. 1858); by Junius, nos. 100, 102, 103, 112 (15, 17, 18, 27 Apr. 1858); by Alpha, nos. 111, 113, 119 (26, 28 Apr., 4 May 1858); and *a pedido* from another correspondent: no. 101 (16 Apr. 1858).
[40] *JC*, no. 109 (23 Apr. 1858); *Correio Mercantil*, no. 116, 173 (1 May, 28 June 1858)

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allowances, the imperial government assigned a fiscal officer to the ACC who also became its president: the barão de Muritiba, a wealthy conservative senator from Bahia who had just retired from the Tribunal da Relação and was close with colonization empresarios and bureaucrats, including Aureliano, Abrantes, ex-SPC shareholder João Pereira do Faro, and colono importer Antonio Martins Lage, the latter two as board members of the Botafogo Club presided over by Muritiba.[41]

Muritiba's appointment expedited colono voyages for some months. About a dozen vessels arrived from Porto and Bremen with Portuguese field hands or Prussian and Hessian artisans for Rio Grande do Sul, the União e Indústria, Mucury, and the ACC itself. But arrivals tapered off from 2,385 in 1858 to 1,630 the next year, far below the ACC's obligation to recruit 10,000 during that time. A month into Muritiba's appointment, the ACC's dividends dipped to the lowest rungs among the 48 public companies at the Court and certainly the lowest among the six colonization companies despite the unprecedented subsidies it received. Muritiba ceded the presidency to senator Cândido Borges Monteiro in 1859, but the ACC continued to tailspin following rumors that Borges siphoned shareholder capital for Muritiba to rent some property.[42]

TROUBLES IN THE COLONO TRADE: FRAUD, EXPLOITATION, AND ILLICIT GAINS

By the late 1850s, tales of abuse had become legend. A song from Lisbon's carnival even parodied the figure of the recruiter for "the land of the banana" who hooked unwitting youngsters with his words.[43] Stories of naive emigrants falling prey to false promises, of young Portuguese treated like enslaved Africans, and of workers sapped of their vital savings began reaching wider audiences. *Paulo e Maria, ou a escravatura branca*, a play about star-crossed lovers staged at Lisbon's Teatro de Dom Fernando in late 1858, narrated the fate of a young man, Paulo, coaxed to emigrate to Brazil only to work among slaves. With its melodramatic turns – the colono trader was revealed as Paulo's father and Paulo's lover Maria committed suicide after herself traveling to Brazil to find him – the plot was a cautionary tale about the misfortunes awaiting emigrants, and

[41] *JC*, nos. 74, 123 (15 Mar., 5 May 1855); *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 124, 237, 273 (9 May, 1 Sept., 8 Oct. 1858).
[42] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 173 (28 June 1858).
[43] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 109 (24 Apr. 1858).

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a timely anti-emigration agitprop. Rio audiences would have had a taste of these themes and adaptations if the one-act tragedy *O engajamento na cidade do Porto, ou os traficantes de escravos brancos*, already on sale in one bookstore, had passed muster with the Dramatic Conservatory, which quickly censored it.[44]

The real stories behind these dramatic reenactments piled up, as news of packed and understocked ships fed the old trope of a "white slavery" or the belief that European emigrants were traded and treated like enslaved Africans. Portuguese newspapers rushed to denounce the inefficacy of existing laws to curtail emigration in the face of incidents like that of brigantine *Arrogante*, which arrived at Recife from São Miguel in December 1853 overloaded with 400 colonos without passports.[45] The Portuguese community in Recife contemplated in dismay how colonos threw themselves overboard when the ship dropped anchor. Portuguese merchants mobilized against vice-consul Joaquim Baptista Moreira – nephew of the consul in Rio – and pressured Lisbon to dismiss him for his complacency and complicity. Abuses continued into 1855, often with serious consequences, as when the Portuguese galleon *Defensor* arrived in Belém with 288 colonos and a bout of cholera that infected enslaved stevedores and continued to spread along the colonos' voyage on an Amazon Company's steamship all the way to Óbidos.[46]

[44] Francisco Joaquim da Costa Braga, *Paulo a Maria, ou a Escravatura branca. Comedia drama de costumes populares em dois actos* (Lisbon: Typographya de Leal & C[a], 1859); *Correio Mercantil*, no. 206 (26 July 1860); BNd, Manuscripts-I-08,17,073, "Designação de Francisco Joaquim Bithencourt da Silva para Thomaz José Pinto Serqueira examinar o drama: Os traficantes de escravos brancos" (20 May 1861).

[45] PGRd (PGR/05/04/10/010), "Em cumprimento da Portaria de 9 de Novembro de 1854 acerca das arguições feitas ao Consul em Pernambuco ácerca do navio=*Arrogante*=" (14 May 1855); *Imprensa e Lei*, nos. 154, 162, 165, 167, 174, 195 (15, 24 Feb. 1, 3, 10 Mar., 6 Apr. 1854); António de Atouguia, *Relatório do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1855), 8–9.

[46] For another notorious case, that of the *Incôgnito*, see *A Razão*, no. 52 (3 Apr. 1855); *JC*, no. 128 (10 May 1855); *DRJ*, nos. 131, 163 (13 May, 14 June 1855). Susana Serpa Silva, "A emigração açoriana para o Brasil, por meados do século XIX, e a questão da 'escravatura branca,'" *História: Questões & Debates* 56 (2012): 37–61; Carlos Cordeiro, "A emigração açoriana para o Brasil nos debates parlamentares de meados do século XIX"; and Paula Barros, "O discurso parlamentar da emigração portuguesa para o Brasil (1855–1858)," in *Um passaporte para à terra prometida*, ed. Maria Izilda Matos et al. (Porto: Cepese, 2011), 83–94, 209–217. On the cholera epidemic of 1855, see Francisco de Paula Cândido, *Relatório àcerca da saúde pública* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1856); Donald Cooper, "The New 'Black Death': Cholera in Brazil, 1855–1856," *Social Science History* 10, no. 4 (1986): 467–488. See also Ian Read, "'A Change Very Perceptive and Oppressive': Climate, Epidemics, and Race in Brazil," *LBR* 58, no. 2 (2022): 81–117.

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Portuguese lawmakers tried to stem abuses and poor transport conditions with the Law of 20 July 1855, which regulated contracting in Portuguese territory and forbade clandestine exits. Yet the arrival in late 1858 of the Brazilian galleon *Dous Amigos* in Rio with a jarring load of 603 passengers from São Miguel signaled that abuses only grew to new proportions.[47] Brazil's service contract law of 1837 severely blunted Portuguese diplomats' ability to claim jurisdiction over Portuguese subjects and enforce their government's orders. More troublingly still, these envoys themselves often contributed to colono abuses. In 1858, João Baptista Moreira, Portugal's vice-consul and chargé from 1827 to 1834, and consul general in Brazil after 1835, faced accusations that he had helped the barão de Nova Friburgo hire two underaged Portuguese colonos. Indeed, in 1862, after Moreira's retirement, the Portuguese government investigated the consular archive and found widespread evidence of corruption. Whereas in 1835 – his first year as consul – Moreira boasted of liquidating more than 23 inventories of Portuguese subjects worth almost 17 contos, it now emerged that, over the following quarter century, he had embezzled Portuguese subjects' intestate inheritances, with at least 42 contos missing from the consulate's coffers. Dealing with colonos and their troubles provided Moreira with illicit opportunities of self-enrichment that complemented formal ones such as the SPC shares he had once owned. His record also proved that abuses took on many forms and could even come from those entrusted to protect colonos.[48]

These revelations coincided with broader calls to rein in colono recruitments in Porto. In 1859, ACC agent Villares was accused by a Portuguese deputy of deceiving workers hired for São Paulo roadworks in 1855, who only saw their contracts once in high seas. Villares claimed the workers had freely signed their contracts and some in the press saw no wrongdoing, but the Portuguese government denounced the ACC for contractual lapses, claiming that "emigrants were deposited in an island far from

[47] Câmara dos Deputados, *Primeiro inquérito parlamentar sobre a emigração portugueza* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1873), 456–460; *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 41, 327, 328 (12 Feb. 3–4, 5 Dec. 1858).

[48] João Baptista Moreira, *Apologia perante o governo de Sua Magestade Fidelíssima* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1862); José Barreto e Noronha, *João Baptista Moreira, Barão de Moreira: Esboço biográphico* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1862); *JC*, nos. 242, 4 (2 Nov. 1835, 4 Jan. 1859); *Correio Mercantil*, no. 104 (17 Apr. 1861); *O Commércio do Porto*, no. 241 (21 Oct. 1861); PGRd, Registo de Pareceres-Ministérios dos Negócios Estrangeiros, da Guerra e da Marinha, no. 11, ff. 175–178v (05/04/11/109), general solicitor Joaquim Pereira Guimarães to Portuguese Foreign minister (28 Nov. 1862).

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the city, with no communications; that they arrived with onerous debts, etc., etc." The ACC cautiously severed its links to Villares, but by then the harm was done, as the Portuguese government forbade any exits from Porto to Brazil involving Villares or any other ACC agent.[49]

The ACC's dealings in Paris brought even greater calamities. Late in 1857, the ACC managing director Francisco José Fialho engaged in talks with Manoel Ferreira Pinto, a Portuguese merchant, Cantagalo planter, Petrópolis Railroad Company president, and fellow member of the ACC. Pinto had tried to launch a colono-purveying enterprise in 1853 but instead became the factor for a Parisian firm led by a Henri Beaucourt, who he recommended to Fialho to import colonos for the ACC. Fialho devised a 13-conto contract to Beaucourt's liking: the firm would import as many colonos as the ACC needed but from ports and steamship lines of its own choosing, set up its own agencies where it saw fit, and determine upfront and travel accommodation costs as long as these did not increase colono debts in Brazil.[50] With the contract signed in early 1858, the ship *Liguria* departed Genoa with 420 colonos but, after calling at Gibraltar with sick passengers, the captain made for Mahon without explanation. Colonos mutinied and, forcing a landing in Marseilles, had to be repatriated. Despite this fiasco, Beaucourt continued to send colonos to poor reviews from Brazilian contractors. After welcoming about 122 of these, Ottoni even referred to them as the "refuse of diverse recruitment expeditions," though acknowledging that a "turbulent minority" that protested in Santa Clara due to unmet expectations had showed him a "Beaucourt contract" and translations of Beaucourt's ads confirming deceitful promises and illegal surcharges.[51]

Olinda and the new ACC president, Muritiba, had to deal personally with the fallout of Beaucourt's frauds when the Bavarian consul requested the repatriation of a 60-year-old tailor named J. T. Seeligner and his family, who received false assurances of quick employment from

[49] *O Commércio do Porto*, no. 31 (9 Feb. 1859); Borges Monteiro, *Relatório*, 5; Portaria (2 July 1859), *Coleção Official da legislação portugueza … anno de 1859* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1860), 319–320; *JC*, no. 215 (5 Aug. 1859).

[50] *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 310, 316 (7, 13 Nov. 1853); "Contracto para engajamento e transporte de emigrantes europeus para o Império do Brazil, celebrado entre H. Beaucourt … e a ACC" (14 Oct. 1857), in Muritiba, *Relatório*, 11–14; *Almanak administrativo, mercantil e industrial* (Rio de Janeiro: Eduardo e Henrique Laemmert, 1858), 200, 408, 412.

[51] Ottoni to Olinda (3 Dec. 1858), Ottoni to Muritiba (29 Dec. 1858), in Ottoni, *A colonisação*, 20–24, 32–33; Robert Avé-Lallemant, *Reise durch Süd-Brasilien im Jahre 1858*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1859), 230.

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Beaucourt. Privately, Muritiba accused the Seelingers of trying to obtain advantages in cahoots with Beaucourt and confessed to Olinda, "If this precedent passes, any who do not encounter Eldorado among us will believe themselves in the right to allege deception and demand repatriation."[52] Publicly, Muritiba found the perfect scapegoat in an ACC commissioner working with Beaucourt in Antwerp (coincidentally, Fialho's friend from the Paris legation) and summarily discharged him.[53] Beaucourt in turn continued to send colonos until the end of the year and spent the next battling insurers for his losses with the *Liguria*.[54]

The imperial government's troubles regarding colonization extended well beyond the ACC's dealings. The most serious problem stemmed from colono restiveness in the Vergueiros' Ibicaba and Angélica plantations in 1856–1857. The problems had started with recruitment, when in 1855 a number of Swiss men and women took up the offers of Emil Paravicini, who worked as agent on call for the ACC's representative in Hamburg as well as for the HCV, Caetano Dias da Silva's Rio Novo, Vergueiro & Co., and even some enterprises in the United States. Among the departed was Thomas Davatz, a school teacher commissioned by the cantonal government of Graubünden to report on the conditions encountered in Brazil. Davatz picked coffee and taught classes at Ibicaba, which readied him to respond to the forty-five questions provided by cantonal authorities on a range of topics, from schooling and weather vagaries to the items colonos received from planters and the price of land allotments. Davatz failed to report back when the Vergueiros got wind of his gloomy report mentioning inequities such as the recalculation of colono debts based on favorable exchange rates for Brazilian currency, which lengthened repayment times. Luiz Vergueiro threatened to murder Davatz, who organized fellow workers to write to the Swiss consulate in Rio. After a heated discussion between the two, a group of colonos picked up their tools and went to

[52] IHGB-(0), Lata 213, doc. 94-Bavarian consul Francis Karl Kerstein to Olinda (22 Oct. 1858), Muritiba to Olinda (26 Oct. 1858).

[53] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}46, Bento J. Martins to Muritiba (7 July, 7 Aug. 1858), Martins to secretary of Brazil's legation in Paris Henrique Ratton (18 Aug. 1858), Martins to José Marques Lisboa (28 Sept. 1859), [Martins] to ACC president Cândido Borges Monteiro (29 June 1860), Manuel Teixeira Coimbra to [?] (6 July 1860), Martins to [Pedro II] (18 July 1860).

[54] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 68 (12 Mar. 1858); Cours Impériale d'Aix, "Arbitrage-Clause compromissoire dans une police d'assurance maritime" (25 Feb. 1859), *Journal de l'Assurer et de l'Assuré* 12 (1859): 130–132.

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Davatz's aid on 24 Dec. 1856 – the start of the alleged "uprising of the sharecroppers."[55]

Without news from Davatz, Graübunden officials and the cantonal governments of Zürich and Bern sounded the alarm and demanded explanations from Paravicini, who offered to consult the Vergueiros for subsidies to send a Swiss investigator. In November 1856, Zürich dispatched a young chemist, Dr. Jakob Heusser, as commissioner to São Paulo. Once there, Heusser spoke with colonos at Ibicaba, Angélica, Senador Vergueiro, and other plantations, sharing his first impressions with his superiors by April 1857 and concluding his report back in Europe. During Heusser's inquiry, the Vergueiros stopped at nothing to get the imperial government on their side.[56] José Vergueiro pestered Justice minister Nabuco de Araújo, alluding to an "infernal plan" implicating slaves and a looming invasion of European warships and alleging a republican conspiracy to take the province by arms. "Davatz," he claimed, "is an astute man ... of cold blood and Jesuitic education." In a separate letter to the provincial vice-president, Vergueiro warned of the alleged co-conspirator, a colono named Oswald, who was supposedly banished from Switzerland "for being a Communist, from where he went to Algeria" before arriving in Campinas, "from where he sent calumnious correspondence to Europe" against the Vergueiros. The conciliation cabinet responded calmly to José Vergueiro's demands for imperial troops in Ibicaba and neighboring colonies. But the War minister, marquês de Caxias, who had crushed the 1842 liberal revolts, would not rush to aid his nemeses.[57]

Provincial authorities did appoint someone to investigate the Vergueiros' allegations. For three weeks in early 1857, Alagoan jurisconsult and interim police chief in São Paulo, José Tavares Bastos (father of the rising liberal Aureliano Tavares Bastos) conducted interviews around the region's plantations, concluding that the agitation was limited to Ibicaba and that colono complaints appeared legitimate. Yet his report

[55] Dean, *Rio Claro*, 97–118; Michael Hall and Verena Stolcke, "The Introduction of Free Labour on São Paulo Coffee Plantations," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 10, nos. 2–3 (1983): 170–200; Thomaz Davatz et al. "Texto da deliberação" (22 Dec. 1856) in Thomas Davatz, *Memórias de um colono no Brasil (1850)*, trans. and intro. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1980) [1941], annex no. 3, 264–265.

[56] Jakob Christian Heusser, *Schweizer auf den Kolonieen in St. Paulo in Brasilien* (Zürich: Friedrich Schulthesz, 1857); Davatz, *Memórias*.

[57] IHGB-(sn), Lata 384, livro 2-José Vergueiro to Nabuco de Araújo (10 Feb. 1857); Vergueiro to vice-president SP Antonio Roberto de Almeida (18 Feb. 1857).

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blamed deficiencies in Brazilian law rather than the Vergueiros, highlighting faults in judicial proceedings, vigilance over service contracts, and poor selection parameters for imported colonos. Among 17 remedies, Tavares Bastos Sr. suggested updating the 1837 contract law and typifying contractual infractions in detail, correcting flaws in parceria such as monetary value calculations across currencies, greater oversight over the employment of minors, and proscribing prison sentences for cases of nonpayment or absenteeism.[58]

Whereas these recommendations were either willfully ignored or fell through the cracks of the ministerial transition of 4 May 1857, Heusser's report still had the power to force changes. The Vergueiros desperately tried to preempt the report, feigning friendship with Heusser and even hiring his helper as a colono. José Vergueiro went as far as publicizing a questionably translated thank you note from Heusser to make it appear as an official report and asked the *JC* to publish Heusser's letters to the former Swiss consul in Rio, Charles Peret Gentil – a close acquaintance of the Vergueiros and author of a flattering tract on their colonies.[59] Allegedly, in this letter Heusser admitted that the Vergueiros did not run "a simple money-oriented speculation" and blamed their enemies for inciting the uprising. The new Swiss consul called the ruse.[60] And by year's end, the Swiss cantons wrote to Olinda with strenuous objections over their findings on egregious abuses of power and exorbitant interest rates on (inheritable) colono debts, protesting the very nature of parceria contracts as favoring Brazilian entrepreneurs. Swiss officials demanded all of Vergueiro's colonos "freed from slavery" and transported to state-run colonies before they published their documentation and Davatz's own account of his time in São Paulo.[61]

COUNTERING ABUSES, STRENGTHENING THE STATE?

With Brazilian colonization vaulted into such a profound crisis, Olinda did not sit idle. His trajectory had duly prepared him for this moment,

[58] IHGB, Lata 384, livro 2-José Tavares Bastos, "Relatório do chefe de polícia interino" (c. Apr.–May 1857).

[59] Charles [Carlos] Peret Gentil, *A colonia Senador Vergueiro* (Santos: Typographia Imparcial de F. M. R. d'Almeida, 1851).

[60] *JC*, nos. 94, 95 (6, 7 Apr. 1857).

[61] Thomaz Davatz, *Die Behandlung der Kolonisten in der Provinz St. Paulo in Brasilien und deren Erhebung gegen ihre Bedrücker. Ein Noth- und Hilfsruf an die Behörden und Menschenfreunde der Länder und Staaten, welchen die Kolonisten angehörten* (Chur: Druck von L. Hitz, 1858).

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including his lifelong government service as deputy, senator, regent, minister in eight cabinets (four of which he presided), his presidency of the SPC back in 1836, and his tenure in the Conselho de Estado. He began his crisis response by publishing internal communications with his Foreign minister regarding the colono revolts and the Swiss inquiries, following suit with a longer pamphlet unsparingly defending the Vergueiros. Olinda extolled parceria contracts while excusing or offering bland correctives to the problems in Ibicaba. Translators were in short supply, he claimed. If a juíz de paz had a conflict of interest, other judges could step in. And then he shifted blame. He hit back at Swiss authorities for sending their elderly, sick, and poor, and cited the Swiss consul's own observations on that point as well as his celebration of Vergueiro establishments only four months before the disturbances. As if following the Vergueiros' tactics, Olinda reproduced Heusser's letter to them and unearthed Swiss consular reports confirming that colonos could relinquish their debts in a few years. Indeed, "if well understood," the parceria system could "protect men against hunger and cold in this sumptuous Brazil; and could offer, if not wealth and independence, at least a pleasant, even happy, subsistence" according to Olinda. Only those seeking "unearned advantages" and seduced by "fallacious promises" of liquidated debts and free land could squander the benefits of parceria.[62]

Olinda's indelicate response served as a perfect divertissement as he sought correctives to colonization's blatant flaws by consulting statesmen across the political spectrum. Earlier, he had taken stock of fellow conservatives' opinions. Soares de Andréa, the general who quashed the Cabanagem and the 1842 revolts, had shared his preference for prioritizing military and indigenous colonies in the northeastern provinces and refraining from "looking for colonos in their own lands," offering instead government loans and subsidies to companies with contracts that avoided "excessive usury."[63] Olinda had also relied on the practical assessments of allies closer to the ground such as Felizardo, whose recommendation of Hermann Blumenau as an "honest and active man"' contributed to Olinda ratifying the empresario's contract for his Itajaí colony within a

[62] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 162 [Olinda to Foreign minister Caetano Maria Lopes Gama (10 Apr. 1858)] (16 June 1858); Pedro de Araújo Lima, *Emigração suissa* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1858).

[63] IHGB-(0), Lata 206-doc. 6, Francisco Soares de Andréa to Olinda (undated, c. 1850s); Maria Luiza Ferreira de Oliveira, "Circulação de saberes e de práticas governativas: caminhos de articulação da política no Brasil, 1845–1860," *Alamanack* 18 (2018): 248–288.

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month following a two-year wait.[64] Similarly, Olinda's appointee to the Rio Grande do Sul presidency, Ângelo Muniz da Silva Ferraz, brought news on the struggles of empresarios like Montravel, who had only imported 49 colonos in 1857, and Jacob Rheingantz and his unfertile land grant.[65]

Ex-Empire minister Luiz Pedreira do Couto Ferraz also counseled Olinda, but in contrast to conservative visions of a discreet state, he leaned in favor of active government support for colonization. "With time," Ferraz had become "more convinced that immigration [would] not advance, much less become centralized, without some sacrifice on the part of the Treasury." Government had to exceed "present expenditures and allocations . . . to prove efficacious" while cost-saving by substituting wages with foodstuffs and medicine.[66] Ferraz's notes coincided with the overtures of a longtime German resident in Rio who invoked emigrant drives to Chile, Australia, and the Cape of Good Hope to convince Brazilian authorities to cover all travel expenses for his countrymen, warning that "what comes cheap ends up being costly" and offering model contracts between Hamburg authorities, shipping firms, and British colonial administrators.[67] By sounding Brazilian statesmen's ideas about colonization, Olinda realized that more direct government action was imperative.

Liberals also furnished Olinda with invaluable suggestions. Francisco de Paula Souza recommended keeping Joseph Hörmeyer, an Austrian-born veteran Brummer conscripted to fight Rosas in 1851, in the government's payroll as an emigration propagandist. Hörmeyer, who had already completed a commissioned handbook for emigrants to Brazil with an appendix on the Mucury Company settlements, received a pay raise from Olinda and by 1859 began publishing a journal that saw four volumes until 1861. An envious Sturz, already resigned from his diplomatic post, fulminated Hörmeyer as Brazil's "speaking

[64] IHGB-(o), Lata 213-pasta 87, Manoel Felizardo to Olinda (10 July 1857); Decree no. 914 (16 Aug.), *CLIB* (1857), vol. 18, pt. I, 22–23.

[65] IHGB-(o), Lata 213-doc. 89, Ângelo Muniz to Olinda (27 Nov. 1857, 23 Apr. 1858); AHRS, cx. 20-mç. 35. On Rheingantz's colony, see Patrícia Bosenbecker, *Uma colônia cercada de estâncias: A inserção de imigrantes alemães na colônia São Lourenço, RS (1857–1877)* (Pelotas: Editora UFPel, 2020), 55–91.

[66] IHGB-(o), Lata 824-doc. 23, Ferraz to Olinda (3 Nov. 1858).

[67] J. L. W. Röhe, *Verdade á respeito da realisação da colonisação no Brazil* (Hamburg: Typographia de J. J. Nobiling, 1858).

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trumpet."[68] Erstwhile Foreign minister Ernesto Ferreira França also enriched Olinda's reflections, even though the two had a long-standing enmity since Olinda's attempts to foil Ferreira França's senate run for Pernambuco in 1847–1848.[69] A decade later, Ferreira França became a new Supreme Court minister, reaching the highest echelons of imperial politics. And after championing peopling for years, he undertook a tour of German lands that positioned him well to counsel government on emigration affairs. He informed Olinda of the leading emigrant shipping firms of Robert Miles Sloman and Johann Godeffroy; warned about smaller agencies trying to sabotage the Brazilian recruiter, Dr. Schmidt; and turned Olinda's attention to Hamburg's Emigration Authority (*Auswanderer-Behörde*), a bureau that fixed prices, resolved conflicts, and cared for migrants' well-being ahead of departure.[70] In addition, Ferreira França's remittances to the IHGB provided the most thorough update of colonization holdings since the early 1840s, including his own book on German-Brazilian relations published in Dresden; works on British colonization; many more on German emigration to the United States, Chile, Honduras, and New Zealand; and even one book on Austrian colonization in Hungary useful to think about internal frontiers like Paraná.[71]

[68] IHGB-(0), Lata 213-pasta 43, Paula Souza to Olinda (7 Dec. 185?); Lata 208, doc. 58, Josef Hörmeyer to Olinda (1 Jan. 1859); Joseph Hörmeyer, *Südbrasilien. Ein Handbuch zur Belehrung für Jedermann, insbesondere für Auswanderer* (Hamburg: Gustav Carl Bürger, 1857); *Die Mucury-Colonieen* (Hamburg: Gustav Carl Bürger, 1858); *Actenstücke brasilischer Seite, betreffend die Kolonisation des Kaiserreiches. Periodische Zeitschrift in zwanglosen Heften* (Leipzig: Franz Wagner, 1859), vol. 1; J. J. Sturz, *Brasilianische Zustände und Aussichten im Jahre 1861. Mit Belegen nebst einem Vorschlag zur Aushebung der Sklaverei und Entfernung der Schwarzen aus Nord-Amerika* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1862), xiii–xiv, 15, 57.

[69] Paulo Henrique Fontes Cadena, "O vice-rei: Pedro de Araújo Lima e a governança do Brasil no século XIX" (PhD diss., UFPE, 2018), 201–202; and "A divisão do poder: Pedro de Araújo Lima, os irmãos Cavalcanti de Albuquerque e os Rego Barros entre Pernambuco e o Centro no século XIX," *Outros Tempos* 16, no. 27 (2019): 208–226.

[70] AMI, POB-mç. 126, doc. 6249, Ferreira França to Pedro II (5 Aug. 1858); Ernesto Ferreira França, "Da população," *AIN*, no. 6 (Nov. 1849): 205–213; and *Brasilien und Deutschland: Ein offener Brief an die Redactionen der deutschen Tagespresse* (Leipzig: Druck von F. A. Brockhaus, 1858).

[71] IHGB, Lata 118-doc. 8, Ferreira França to IHGB (31 Oct., 30 Dec. 1858), Sturz to Lopes Gama (25 Sept. 1857); Lata 132, doc. 6 – "Relação de publicações sobre Estatística e Ciência da População" (c.1858). The list included all of Edward Wakefield's works, Herman Merivale's *Lectures on Colonies and Colonization* (London, 1841–1842), Robert Torrens's *The Budget: On Commercial and Colonial Policy* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1844) and *Colonial Magazine* and *Colonial Gazette* issues. German titles included works on emigration like Friedrich List, *Die Arkreverfassung, die*

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Olinda used these ideas to take stock of the government's record on companies. In draft notes, he surveyed colonization efforts in Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Venezuela, the United States, and Australia and concentrated on French Algeria, where the pacification of the Kabylie in 1857 had paved the way for a specialized colonial ministry that trumped the reformism of Saint-Simonian state officials graduated from the École Polytéchnique. The new "system to fuse French colonos with Arabs and Moors" laid bare, for Olinda, the shortcomings of earlier Algerian colonization and signaled the "uselessness of government sacrifices to sustain companies." "Beautiful theories and prestigious names," he asserted, "have hereto served as the sole bases for these enterprises, founded ... on the hope that, once colonies start out, Government is obligated to continue protecting and subsidizing them." Olinda concluded that "neither country nor colonos have profited from these enterprises" and that "a commercial association ... cannot offer the advantages that one would think at first sight."[72]

Although Olinda settled on the wisdom of terminating company subsidies and directing funds instead to land-clearing activities and colonos' initial sustenance in colonization nuclei, he took action to reinforce the ACC by authorizing new rules to oversee its recruitment agencies. These new measures sought to transform recruitment by offering per capita prizes for recruiters in compliance and by making agents, shipowners, and captains financially liable for reported abuses.[73] But Olinda was not simply giving the ACC free rein, which became clear when he also approved new ACC statutes that gave the imperial government almost full control of the company by allowing the prime minister to appoint the ACC's president and vice-president. In other words, Olinda solidified his belief in terminating subsidies by bringing the company under direct government oversight, if not outright control. And yet, refusing to

Zwergwirthschaft und die Auswanderung (Stuttgart: J. G. Cottascher, 1842); and Wappäus, *Deutsche Auswanderung*.

[72] IHGB-(0), Lata 208-doc. 53, "Parecer não assinado sobre os meios de promover eficazmente a colonização no Brasil" (9 Nov. 1858); Lata 824, doc. 14, "Memória não assinada sobre os meios de promover a colonização no Brasil, opinando a respeito de Companhias colonizadoras"; Osama Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity: Saint-Simonians and the Civilizing Mission in Algeria* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 163–173.

[73] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 12 (14 Jan. 1858).

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abandon the principle of profit, these government rules also increased per capita prizes for adult colonos (50$) and children (30$ each).[74]

Even more impactfully, Olinda swiftly enacted the first official ordinance regulating emigrant voyages. The new Regulamento de transporte de emigrantes (Emigrant Transport Ordinance) became a decisive policy benchmark not only because it empowered the Brazilian government to oversee migrant transports but also to carry out its own. Its blueprint originated in a budget law for 1856–1857 that mandated greater oversight over colonization and was greatly enhanced by Olinda's decades-long engagement with the colono trade. The Ordinance allowed Olinda to bring Brazilian policies in line with international efforts to improve maritime conveyance of contract workers such as the British inquiries into coolie transports seeking to curtail mortality rates as thousands of laborers shipped out of India following the Sepoy rebellion of 1857.[75] Olinda's Ordinance established a ratio of one colono per ton and minimum space dimensions for every passenger. It regulated food rations, kitchens, beds, and medical personnel according to passenger load and instituted sanitary measures like separating animals from humans. For the first time in Brazilian law, the Ordinance also restricted entry of physically or psychologically disabled individuals unaccompanied by relatives. Captains would have to produce detailed passenger manifests and preserve copies of contracts for all colonos onboard. Stringent supervision and the application of fines for violations fell under the Lands Directorate but also involved the Navy's surgeon-general, the Navy auditor, and the customs director. The Ordinance deterred would-be offenders with fines that doubled emigrant travel costs and incentivized those in charge of applying it with a gratuity for every case resulting in fines. Significantly, the Ordinance left its mark until the end of the Empire as its compliance became an obligatory precondition for all colonization contracts.[76]

Olinda's actions reined in the private business of colonization for governmental purposes but proved insufficient to revert the tide against emigration to Brazil. Sturz himself, who angrily resigned from his post in 1858, referred to "brain-burned Olinda" and to the "oligarchical and exploitative principles" that guided him, likening the Emigrant Transport

[74] Decree no. 2158, Decree no. 2159 (1 May) *CLIB* (1858), vol. 1, 225–243.

[75] Law no. 840 (15 Sept.), *CLIB* (1855), vol. 16, pt. I, 36–47; Decree no. 2168 (1 May) *CLIB* (1858), vol. 19, pt. I, 276–284; Clare Anderson, "Convicts and Coolies: Rethinking Indentured Labor in the Nineteenth Century," *Slavery and Abolition* 30, no 1 (2009): 93–109.

[76] AN, GIFI 4B-13-vols. 1–3 includes contracts citing the ordinance from 1870 to 1890.

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Ordinance to a police ordinance for Helots.[77] More substantive discussions took place in the Berlin-based Zentral-Verein für deutsche Auswanderungs-und Kolonisations-Angelegenheiten (Central Association for German Emigration and Colonization Matters), which gave a space to the grievances of Prussian mercenaries who fought for Brazil against Rosas and even to one much older veteran of Pedro I's Cisplatina War, Samuel Gottfried Kerst, who chastised Brazilian attempts to replace enslaved Africans with German proletarians and called instead for a German national colonization in Uruguay.[78] The Brazilian press reported on some of the Zentral-Verein's demands, including that German colonos receive "all the rights and liberties afforded to the *Brazilian-born*."[79]

Paraná's earlier cabinet had kept abreast of some of the developments orbiting the Zentral-Verein, particularly the Hapsburg Empire's attempts to cut exits to Brazil in 1853 as part of a neo-absolutist awakening under the new monarch, Francis Joseph, and an interior minister disinclined to police another wave of exiles as in 1848.[80] And yet, up until the Ibicaba and Beaucourt scandals, Brazilian statesmen did not fully grasp the weight of the Zentral-Verein nor of its spirited and diverse membership,

[77] Sturz, *Brasilianische Zustände*, 15.

[78] This association derived from the Society for Centralization of German Emigration and Colonization (Verein zur Zentralisation deutscher Auswanderung und Kolonisation) that emerged out of the 1848 Frankfurt assembly of regional emigrant associations. On its membership, see "O Brasil e a Alemanha em relação à colonisação," *Correio Mercantil*, no. 316 (13 Nov. 1853); Peter Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur soziologischen Theorie der Bevölkerung* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1973), 21–22. On regional branches before the Frankfurt meeting, see Hartmut Bickelmann, "Auswanderungsvereine, Auswandererverkehr und Auswandererfürsorge in Deutschland 1815–1930," in *Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hartmut Bickelmann and Agnes Bretting (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 91–262. Samuel Gottfried Kerst, *Die Länder am Uruguay: Vortrag gehalten in der Sitzung des Berliner Vereins zur Centralisation deutscher Auswanderung und Colonisation am 8 October 1851* (Berlin: J. Sittenfeld, 1851); and *Ueber Brasilianische Zustände der Gegenwart, mit Bezug auf die deutsche Auswanderung nach Brasilien und das System der brasilianischen Pflanzer, den Mangel an afrikanischen Sklaven durch deutsche Proletarier zu ersetzen* (Berlin: Beit und Comp., 1853).

[79] T. K., "O Brazil e a Allemanha relativamente à colonisação," *JC*, nos. 26, 31, 34, 38, 53, 58, 63, 64 (26, 31 Jan., 3, 7, 22, 27 Feb., 4, 5 Mar. 1853).

[80] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}153, 4th Empire section secretary José Bonifácio Nascentes de Azambuja to Paraná (6 June 1853); John Deak, *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 99–136; Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 218–268; Christos Aliprantis, "Transnational Policing after the 1848–1849 Revolutions: The Habsburg Empire in the Mediterranean," *European History Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (2020): 412–437.

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which included Hamburg's shipping magnate Robert Sloman and Göttingen luminary Dr. Wäppaus; HCV president Schröder and secretary W. Hühn; colonization empresarios involved in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Mexico, and California; and the Prussian War and Interior ministers, Eduard von Bonin and August von der Heydt.

In 1859, with Zentral-Verein discussions and the Swiss inquiries in the background, von der Heydt issued a watershed decree halting emigration to Brazil. The Heydt Rescript of 3 November 1859 forbade any direct financing of emigrant voyages as well as any related propaganda riling up young men to take leave for Rio. The measure, which remained in effect in unified Germany until 1898, drastically reduced the number of migrants arriving to Brazil from Hamburg and Bremen and ravaged the HCV, which struggled to meet its migrant quotas until it reorganized in 1897 as the new Hanseatic Colonial Society. Coming in the wake of a forceful wave of reformist measures in Brazil, the Heydt Rescript appeared in its face to be an unexpected repudiation of Olinda's efforts to rein in the colono trade and bring colonization companies into line.

However, the Rescript was not a reflex response to the abuses at Ibicaba, as scholars have long thought. Its intention, rather, was to retain military personnel at a time when Prussia most needed its soldiers. Napoléon III and Franz Joseph I had just agreed to the Treaty of Villafranca finalizing the Franco-Piedmontese war in which France had supported the Count of Cavour's bid to make the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia independent from Habsburg control. With enemy troops mobilized but suddenly disengaged from conflict, von der Heydt understood that the time had come for Prussia to stand guard. As Wilhelm of Prussia became prince regent during his brother Friedrich Wilhelm IV's deathbed, the replacement of War minister von Bonin with Albrecht von Roon, who lionized military reform, refashioned Prussian forces. After debates raged for much of 1858 and 1859, "the money was there but the able-bodied recruits were not."[81] Minister Roon pushed to modify the Service Law facilitating recruitments and absorb the militia known as the Landwehr into formal army regiments. Meanwhile, von der Heydt sought to contribute by stalling emigrant exits to destinations that had historically absorbed Prussian recruits.

Still, Brazilian colonization did not grind to a stop in spite of the Heydt Rescript. The arrival of 581 colonos from Portugal and Italy heralded an

[81] Dierk Walter, "Roon, the Prussian Landwehr, and the Reorganization of 1859–1860," *War in History* 16, no. 3 (2009): 269–297.

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upward trend ahead of December, the peak month for migrant arrivals.[82] In Bahia, some 105 colonos arrived in 1858–1859, many of them minors headed to Engenho Novo, a sugar estate where 15 colonos had already repaid their debts by 1860. Building on these low-key attainments, Bahian planters sought the ACC to request colonos from Saxony, contacting the appropriate consul while asking for government favors for a national colony on the Rio Pardo, signaling the growing acceptance of mixed colonies.[83] Meanwhile, after taking over the ACC, authorities in Rio continued to goad fazendeiros to hire colonos in order to consolidate demand.[84] The new Agriculture ministry established in 1860 took over colonization matters and kept Hörmeyer on its roster so that, under the new minister's orders, he could go after a "hostile" Bremen gazette publishing "calumnious and indolent falsities." With Sturz decamping to the United States and intermittently attacking Brazil, Hörmeyer was the last scribe standing until minister Felizardo also destined funds to the vice-consul in Porto for the purpose of "flattening out any remaining obstacles for Portuguese emigration to the Empire."[85]

Colonization companies were less resilient than the colono trade in general. The ACC dragged on by handling multiple logistics of migrant arrvials. In 1860, it redirected at least 130 incoming German colonos and others from Mucury to Rio Grande do Sul, exploiting ACC's close relationship with the province established thanks to ACC president Muritiba's conservative connections to the prior provincial president, Ângelo Muniz, who rose to the Empire ministry.[86] The ACC continued to welcome incomers at the Bom Jesus hostel until at least 1863, the last years for which any information is available. By then, it had imported 5,908 colonos and managed the disembarkation and lodging of another 3,938 imported by the government. Requests for colono and foreign offers for emigration drives continued to arrive after 1859, including

[82] AN, GIFI-6J-88, Police chief Isidoro Borges Monteiro to minister Ângelo Muniz da Silva Ferraz (10 Nov. 1859).

[83] APEB, Agricultura-mç. 4608, "Relação de colonos" (12 Feb. 1858); Joaquim José de Araújo Fonseca to provincial president BA (1861); Claiton Melo Jones, "Vem aí a imigração: expectativas, propostas e efetivações da imigração na Bahia (1816–1900)" (MA thesis, UFBA, 2014), 32–34.

[84] APERJ-PP, Secretaria-0007, mç. 9, Sérgio Teixeira de Macedo to provincial president RJ (4 Aug. 1859).

[85] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}8, Felizardo to Hörmeyer (23 Oct. 1861); Felizardo to Brazilian vice-consul in Porto (7 Nov. 1861).

[86] AHRS, cx. 20-mç. 38, Muritiba to Ângelo Muniz (19 Jan. 1859); ACC secretary Manoel Teixeira Coimbra to RS president Joaquim Antônio Fernandes Leão (8 Jan. 1860).

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one in 1862 from the Frankfurt Society for the Protection of Emigrants asking for information on existing colonies and available lands. But the ACC never regained the vitality of its early days. In 1863, its third president, Borges Monteiro, reported on the closure of the Porto agency due to its runaway debts and inability to meet colono quotas on account of increased Portuguese vigilance over underaged emigrants. Surprisingly, the ACC still issued its ninth round of dividend payments to shareholders, which at 5 contos was one of the highest yet and brought the total profits produced by the company to almost 32 contos. At that rate, the ACC would have generated the equivalent of its initial government loan within a decade.

This bounty had Olinda to thank for. After seeing his cabinet sink, Olinda strove to secure its colonization-reformist thrust. A year later at the Conselho, Olinda partook in arguments over a credit approved in 1856 allowing government to spend up to six thousand contos in colonization. Because funds remained as the credit expired and financial commitments tied to the credits had yet to be fulfilled, the Conselho had to determine whether the funds could be used beyond their initial deadline, even though an affirmative response amounted to extending one cabinet's policies beyond its incumbency. Olinda claimed that any portion of the credit committed to a specified expense within the valid period did in fact authorize spending beyond any deadline in order to meet those commitments. The law, he emphasized, did not state that expenditures had to be completed within the stipulated three-year window. Because it "fell upon Government to consult the interests of colonization so as to determine the time window for their realization," the ACC could in effect continue to receive government subsidies tied to the 1856 credit. Olinda's patronage thus carried on beyond his cabinet thanks to a deft opinion joined by ex-ACC president Monte Alegre and Limpo de Abreu, the minister who publicized the SPC's statutes in 1836.[87]

Olinda's generosity did not extend to the Mucury Company, however. Even though Ottoni sat on the board of the Banco do Brasil, his company depended entirely on government aid.[88] After settling 1,013 colonos, Ottoni asked the government for an extension of the terms of contract

[87] IHGB-(0), Lata 205-doc. 50, "Parecer sobre utilização de crédito para despesas com colonização, depois de expirado o prazo determinado pelo respectivo decreto" (3 Nov. 1859); Decree no. 885 (4 Oct. 1856), *CLIB* (1856), vol. 17, pt. I, 59.

[88] Thiago Fontanelas Rosado Gambi, "O banco da Ordem: política e finanças no império brasileiro (1853–1866)" (PhD diss., USP, 2010), 99–110, 499–505.

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and an advance on a previously agreed subsidy in late 1858, but Olinda responded curtly. The Mucury contract signed at the end of 1856, only months apart from the ACC's credit decree, entitled Ottoni to a 300-conto loan to be disbursed in equal installments over three years. Near the end of 1858, Ottoni had received only 70 contos. But because he had surpassed his annual colono quota of 1,000 and sorely required additional funding, he requested that the remaining portion of the loan be made available to fulfill ongoing expenses. Counseled by Felizardo, Olinda took a reserved approach, agreeing to advance no more than a hundred contos per year, as stipulated, and with disbursements directly tethered to colono arrival rates. The "small sum estimated to promote colonization," Olinda explained, "demands that the strictest economy be observed."[89] Olinda had shown no shortage of means to keep the ACC afloat. As Mucury's agents in Leipzig reported to Ottoni, the Brazilian government authorized the ACC to recruit a thousand colonos with travel costs paid by Brazilian diplomats in Lisbon, Hamburg, Antwerp, and other ports. Recognizing that they "could not provide large advancements as they do," Ottoni's men concluded that "any who wish to emigrate to Brazil will preferably go to the ACC."[90] As his agents lost ground, Ottoni bore the implicit brunt of Olinda's preference for the ACC.

Withheld funds came as a death sentence for the Mucury Company, with Olinda's admonishing tone a further reminder of the true partial nature of the post-conciliation state. In Ottoni's own telling, recent colono cohorts purveyed by the Land Directorate and the ACC had brought chaos to Mucury's colonies. Olinda could not patronize another enterprise prone to uprisings or diplomatic inquiries.[91] In 1860, Finance minister Silva Ferraz effectively shuttered the Company by canceling the government's commitments, coinciding almost perfectly with Ottoni's failed electoral run for a Chamber seat for Minas. In a detailed final report to shareholders, Ottoni exculpated himself from the Company's fate. He then published an incendiary tract against the electoral reform of 1860 that cleared his name after his defeat.

[89] IHGB, Lata 824-doc. 20, Ottoni to Olinda (12 Sept. 1858), Olinda to Ottoni (22 Sept. 1859); Johann Jakob von Tschudi, *Reisen durch Süd-Amerika* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1866), vol. 2, 233.

[90] IHGB, Lata 824, doc. 20, Robert Schlobach and Morguenstern to Ottoni (19 Mar. 1858).

[91] Teófilo Ottoni, *Relatório apresentado aos accionistas da Companhia do Mucury no dia 10 de maio de 1860* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Correio Mercantil, 1860).

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In the tract, Ottoni invoked his 13 years of experience at the helm of the Mucury Company to get credit for opening communications in landlocked Minas, and laid bare his expectation that the nascent parishes around Filadelfia would provide electoral clout. Surely, the earlier electoral reform of 1855, which facilitated the creation of smaller districts, would have allowed Ottoni and his supporters to enter the Chamber en masse, propelled by the new settlements in the Mucuri valley. But the redistricting of the province mandated by the 1860 electoral reform undercut that expected support in those places where only voters could "prove whether the Mucury Company's empresario is a speculator or a patriot." Ottoni raged against the sure victory denied him but presaged a vengeful return: "If a partial vote tore me from there, a thousand impartial votes may designate me for another seat in which, uncovering ... the oligarchy, I will have the glory to serve."[92] Colonos elsewhere had already mobilized socially and politically, establishing mutual aid societies and organizing against electoral irregularities, as a group of 135 colonos from Petrópolis did when they were intentionally excluded from their district's qualifying lists.[93] Olinda accompanied these developments through Conselho discussions on the rights of naturalized Brazilians, in particular those born of foreign colonos, and so he was perfectly aware of the political implications of peopling the Mucuri and did not look kindly on the electoral weaponization of colonization frontiers.[94]

* * *

The ACC and the Mucury Company embodied a bourgeoning, more streamlined colonization entrepreneurialism aiming to correct the failings of prior efforts. Yet the inevitable scandals that accompanied their activities reinforced their reliance on government support and resulted in divergent destinies that laid bare enduring tensions beyond the conciliation period. Conservatives and moderates who shared Olinda's vision of a centralized monarchical state and strong regulatory prerogatives obtained government backing, while those with a more radical track

[92] Decree no. 2636 (5 Sept.), *CLIB* (1860), vol. 1, 397; Teófilo Ottoni, *Circular dedicada aos srs. eleitores de senadores pela província de Minas-Geraes no quatriennio actual e especialmente dirigida aos srs. eleitores de diputados pelo 2º districto eleitoral da mesma província para a próxima legislatura* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Correio Mercantil, 1860).

[93] AN, Diversos-Conselho, cx. 522, env.1, doc. 4 (20 Oct. 1857); cx. 528, pac. III, env. 2, doc. 48.

[94] *Atas do Conselho do Estado*, Act (10 Aug. 1857).

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record who could use colonization to build new constituencies fell short of receiving similar treatment despite their efforts to comply with, and even exceed, contractual expectations. Dismissing Ottoni allowed Olinda to reestablish what he understood as a political balance. Lanced on every side by conservatives who protested the financial reforms of his liberal minister Bernardo de Souza Franco or the prioritization of colono recruitment over land surveying, the question of who to support and to what extent hung over Olinda's head like the sword of Damocles.

Forced to choose, Olinda ended up favoring the ACC over the Mucury Company, spelling the latter's doom and flagging that dormant political enmities could resurface after conciliation. But the problems raised by colonization enterprises forced Olinda to adopt more nuanced decisions that defied partisanship. When foreign governments recriminated Brazilian empresarios for abusing colonos, Olinda closed ranks around his countrymen and adamantly defended another liberal firm, Vergueiro & Co. Eventually, Olinda's cabinet dissolved. But his interventions in colonization matters had immense repercussions. The product of a damage-control response and in-depth study of colonization, Olinda's Emigrant Transport Ordinance became a mainstay of colonization contracts up to the end of the Brazilian Empire in 1889. Through it, Olinda put forth a potent claim for regulation that sounded both the limits and possibilities of state intervention in the lives of companies and in the colono trade.

Colonization defied narrow definitions of government action and confronted cabinets with a true litmus test on their impact, raising key questions about governmental power, responsibilities, and capacities. How far could the government go in financing private enterprises through direct subsidies? And when should the imperial state step in as local incidents mushroomed into international recriminations? Olinda inherited these dilemmas together with the conciliation's expectations of a government that balanced conservative and liberal creeds. His responses ultimately demonstrated that government would only do so much to mobilize colonization enterprises. Rather, it would develop the regulations to help colonization companies flourish as long as they responded to its interests, and to rein them in when they did not.

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7

The Dregs of War

Emigrant Sweeps at a Time of Global Turmoil

In 1860, the British legation in Rio de Janeiro sent glowing news to the Foreign Office. As agricultural production rode to record highs thanks to the rising price of Brazil's leading exports, colonization strode apace. Over the previous decade, 7,262 colonos had landed in Rio Grande do Sul alone. Since 1854, foreign migrant arrivals had reached 10,000 a year, with the ACC contributing 5,908 in all for that period – just over 14 percent of the net annual entries.[1] By 1859, imperial authorities registered a leap to 19,695 entries, according to reformist Aureliano Tavares Bastos.[2] In addition to São Paulo's *colônias de parceria* (share-cropping colonies) and São Leopoldo's 15,000-strong population, there were now 15 government colonies, 4 subsidized colonies, 13 private colonies with partial government aid, and 4 entirely private colonies. Totaling at least 26,422 colonos in all, this signaled that the Brazilian Empire had begun reaping the fruits of a decades-long investment in colonization endeavors.[3]

[1] NAk, F.O. 881/917, "Précis of Articles on Agriculture and Commerce by F.S. Soares" (1860); Sebastião Ferreira Soares, *Notas estatísticas sobre a produção agrícola e a carestia dos géneros alimentícios no Império do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imp. E Const. De J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1860), 135–136, 179.

[2] Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do solitário: Estudos sobre reforma administrativa, ensino religioso, africanos livres, tráfico de escravos, liberdade da cabotagem, abertura do Amazonas, communicações com os Estados Unidos, etc.* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. da Actualiade, 1863), 119–121.

[3] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}69, "Pagamentos referentes aos serviços prestados pelos colonos nos diversos estados" (1860); Manoel Felizardo de Souza Melo, *Relatório da Agricultura* (1861), 38–70; Bernardo Augusto Nascentes de Azambuja, *Relatório das Terras Públicas e da Colonisação* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de João Ignácio da Silva,

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These numbers captured colonization promoters' renewed enthusiasm during a time of profound global transformation. Despite widespread civil wars, Brazilian colonization advocates saw promising years ahead, exploiting global conflicts as windows of opportunity to recruit colonos. The imperial government itself expressed interest in ramping up migrations, prompting its representatives abroad to keep an eye out for prospective colonos. Even politicians and professionals at odds with the government in power took up colonization drives as temporary business opportunities. A rising political figure by the name of Quintino Bocaiúva exemplified the daring of the times when he set to work in a Brazilian colonization agency in New York in part due to his generation's struggles to obtain political appointments even in liberal cabinets. Taking advantage of the end of formal hostilities in the United States, Quintino set course for New York to recruit veterans discontented with the tenuous peace after Appomattox.[4]

This was a new era, marked by an unprecedented diversity of plans for all regions of the Empire's ever-increasing colono quotas and divisive political struggles. Abroad, regional conflagrations like the world had not witnessed since the defeat of Napoléon drove migratory movements. National efforts to receive colonos also spurred migrations as soon as a much touted – if doubtful – international peace settled after the 1870s.[5] A standardized but locally adaptable language of colonization took shape across the hemisphere, including in Mexico, Chile, and Argentina. In Brazil, with the end of the Paraguayan War, planters, technocrats, professionals, and statesmen applied colonization experiences from previous decades to an increasing array of scenarios and populations including national ones. In contrast to the more ethnically or racially restrictive policies that arose decades later, even amid debates about the racial adequacy of migrants, the last decades of migration and settlement

1862); Antonio Pereira Pinto, *Apontamentos para o direito internacional*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: F. L. Pinto & C^{a} 1864), 375–376.

[4] FGV-CPDOC, QBapaf1854.03.27-Francisco Xavier da Cunha to Quintino Bocaiúva (10 Mar. 1867); Gregory Downs, *After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

[5] Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, "Global Violence and Nationalizing Wars in Eurasia and America: The Geopolitics of War in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 4 (1996): 619–657; Guillermo Palacios and Erika Pani, eds., *El poder y la sangre: Guerra, estado y nación en la década de 1860* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2014); Don H. Doyle, ed., *American Civil Wars: The United States, Latin America, Europe, and the Crisis of the 1860s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, *La paz: 1876* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018).

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management during the Empire perfected the business of colonization by expanding its scope overseas as well as within Brazilian borders. In Bahia, for instance, the abandoned colony of Rio Pardo came back to life in 1862 to house an "emigration of nationals," which numbered 2,000 individuals from the drought-stricken interior. A similar experiment followed in Piauí.[6] In view of these experiences, Brazilian spendthrifts quickly found that promoting national colonies – establishments peopled by the working poor rather than foreign colonos – could pave the way for a post-abolition future.

According to prevalent scholarship, Brazil's gradual abolition laws during this time generated a labor shortage panic that increased demand for foreign colonos. Frantic calls for *braços para a lavoura* compounded racist attitudes, reputedly, to shape Brazilian planters' preferences for white European workers. Yet, contrary to this accepted narrative, standards about migrant or settler adequacy were much talked about but proved elusive on the ground, raising the question about whether they were in fact the driving force of colonization. Rather, colonization advocates depended on sudden windows of opportunity to identify target migrant pools and activate their received wisdom on the "science of colonization." Diverse factors contributed to the random consideration of particular populations from across the world for Brazilian colonization, displacing labor replacement ploys or selective racial or national parameters as guideposts for directed migrations.

Indeed, for myriad reasons, a medley of migrant groups arrived in Brazil in quick succession, including Polish exiles, US Confederate veterans, and Algerian settlers. Their often competitive wrangling for government favors laid bare the opportunistic character of migrations in the midst of widespread global conflict. These crises-propelled arrivals also structured a dynamic interplay between local, national, and international factors that had a mobilizing effect on Brazilian statesmen. Imperial officials issued orders for meeting these expatriates' needs and demands as much as to resolve the dilemmas they dragged in, and local and provincial authorities enthusiastically rushed to comply or to adapt. Ultimately, however, colonization powered forth thanks to a daring, if also problem-ridden, combination of migrant expatriates heading to Brazil to fully exploit perceived advantages and the drive of a new colonization company hoping to capitalize from bringing them to Brazil.

[6] Azambuja, *Relatório*, 42, 64.

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POLISH EMIGRATION AND THE LIMITS OF THE CATHOLIC CONNECTION

Addressing the Chamber of Deputies in 1860, the new Agriculture minister anticipated rising migrant entries – but only in the far-off future. If the United States had taken dozens of years since the Homestead Act to lure growing numbers of settlers, he argued, Brazil required more than the seven years elapsed since its Land Law Ordinance of 1854 to do the same. But foreign colonization projects soon began to land on the imperial government's docket by force of circumstance, without the effort or expenses that England invested in Australia, France in Algeria, or the United States in "a vast German network ... to apprehend new guests."[7]

The first overseas proposal came with a new Polish exodus following Russia's disastrous suppression of the January Uprising of 1863. Led by Catholic Poles, the rebellion coincided with Napoléon III's ambitions over the Rhine, which threatened war in the western Polish regions occupied by Prussia.[8] These events had already stoked concerted emigration schemes such as the one offered to emperor Maximilian I of Mexico by John Pope Hennessy, an Irish-Catholic member of the British Parliament who supported a stronger British intervention in Poland.[9] Now, a similar proposal arrived in Brazil with count Anton von Ladislaw Jasienski, an aristocratic London exile of the earlier Polish rebellion of 1830–1831 who docked at Recife in 1864 to organize the Associação Promotora da Colonização Polaca (Association for the Promotion of Polish Colonization).

In its inaugural meeting, a board of directors tasked Jasienski with opening affiliates across Brazil's dioceses. The Polish Association found favor in Church circles, including in the northernmost province of Pará, but struggled to expand beyond them due to its professedly apolitical nature. "Men of all parties belong to it," Jasienski tried insisting, "because they all belong to the banner of humanity and patriotism."

[7] Souza Melo, *Relatório*, 17–18.

[8] John Kutolowski, "British Interests and the Polish Uprising, 1861–1864," *The Polish Review* 29, no. 4 (1984): 3–25; Krzysztof Marchlewicz, "For Independent Poland and the Emancipation of the Working Class Poles in the IWMA, 1864–1876," in *"Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth": The First International in a Global Perspective*, ed. Fabrice Bensimon, Quentin Deluermoz, and Jeanne Moisand (Brill: Leiden, 2018), 181–192.

[9] Eugène Lefèvre, *Documentos oficiales recogidos de la secretaría privada de Maximiliano: Historia de la intervención francesa en Méjico*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1869), 93; John Pope Hennessy, *Poland. Debate upon the Motion of John Pope Hennessy ... Relating to the Affairs of Poland, in the House of Commons, Friday, February 27, 1863* (London, 1863); *Napoleon III and the Rhine* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1866).

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To underscore this message, the Associação even suggested that Polish settlers could man the imperial army in the bourgeoning war against Paraguay. For months, however, Jasienski obtained courteous expressions of interest but no financial backing from Rio elites. Nonetheless, at the end of 1865 he did secure an incorporation decree from Pedro II, who also promised public lands somewhere in São Paulo or Paraná.[10]

Brazilians themselves showed little interest in Polish migrations. By his own account, Jasienski clashed with both locals and resident foreigners who objected to the Associação's Catholicism. For instance, months after obtaining his incorporation decree, Jasienski went to Pernambuco to procure similar favors. But the president of the the Associação Comercial Beneficiente in Recife, Philip F. Needham, who was not Catholic, remained noncommittal, which prompted Jasienski to withdraw to the Pimenteiras military colony.[11]

By that point, Jasienski also understood that another class of civil war expatriates had overtaken the imagination of his potential supporters: the Confederate veterans making their appearance across Brazilian regions and seen by many as a more enterprising migrant cohort. "I must not hide to Your Majesty," Jasienski confessed to Pedro II, "that the greatest, most valuable sympathies are reserved for the Americans . . . the motive for such predilection seemed to me a bad symptom for the future of the Monarchy and of Religion in this Province." In the early weeks of 1867, as numerous entrepreneurs from the US South embarked on expeditions to settle in Brazil, Jasienski left for New York, where he tried to procure the recently appointed Brazilian emigration agent, Quintino Bocaiúva. Jasienski's plan was to pick Catholic Poles arriving from Russian, Prussian, or Hanse lands for re-shipment to Brazil to reap the same advantages the Brazilian government showered upon US emigrants.[12]

Other Polish wanderers arrived at the Court besides Jasienski. In February 1866, vicar Karol Mikoszewski addressed cariocas in the

[10] *Jornal do Recife*, no. 32 (9 Feb. 1865); *Relatório do presidente PA* (1866), 17–18; *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, no. 2 (24 Feb. 1865); *JC*, no. 71 (12 Mar. 1865); AMI, Casa Imperial, mç. 137-doc. 6724, Jasienski to Pedro II (19 Nov. 1865); Decree no. 3575 (30 Dec.), *CLIB* (1865), vol. 2, 435–443; *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 288, 43 (22 Oct. 1865, 12 Feb. 1866).

[11] *Jornal do Recife*, nos. 62, 93 (16 Mar., 23 Apr. 1866); Peter Eisenberg, "Falta de imigrantes: Um aspecto do atrasso nordestino," *Revista de História* 46, no. 94 (1973): 583–601.

[12] FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21-pasta 5, Ludgero Pinho to Quintino Bocaiúva (14 Feb. 1867).

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Correio Mercantil. A leading figurehead in the Provisional National Government after the Uprising of 1863, Mikoszewski was one of the reputed organizers of insurgent Catholic peasant freeholds. Critics described him as the Polish revolutionary government's "most implacable judge" and said he had "assassinated, stabbed, hanged, poisoned, strangled, dishonored and stolen from the poor who had not wished to follow the revolutionary current." Yet, as the envoy of a relatively obscure Central Commission on Polish Immigration, he had come to Rio representing the victims of "Muscovite barbarity." With a more compelling message than Jansieski's, the vicar spoke of martyrdom and Siberian exiles, evoking the Catholic fervor and valor of Polish rebels against Russian oppression, themes that echoed favorably in Brazilian cries against Paraguayan dictator Solano López and in the hushed reservations of ultramontane elites against religious freedom. Machado de Assis wrote a gushing portrait of Mikoszewski, describing aid to Polish expatriates as "an act of Christian charity, and a way of rendering cult . . . to their immortal patriotism." Even satirical weeklies joined the cause, with one inviting "all people of good taste and inclined to charity" in Rio to a benefit concert for the Polish.[13]

How much pecuniary support Mikoszewski received in Rio remains anyone's guess, but Polish migration to Brazil nevertheless increased as Poles from the Prussian province of Upper Silesia fled Germanization policies and other hardships.[14] Several entrepreneurs in Paraná united under a colonization company by the name of Sociedade Colonizadora Pereira Alves and Bendaszewski & Cia. brought 1,097 Polish colonos from 1873 to 1878. As part of a government contract in 1874, the main associates – colonel José Antonio Pereira and Eugênio Bendasewski, a Polish shopkeeper in Rio – committed to importing 4,000 Basques, Slavs, Germans, Lombards, and Belgians within four years into the colonies of Pereira and Euphrasina, on the bay of Paranaguá. Even though their

[13] Carlos [Karol] Mikoszewski, "Aos habitantes do Rio de Janeiro," *Correio Mercantil*, no. 38 (7 Feb. 1866); Machado de Assis, "Os polacos exilados," *DRJ*, no. 45 (22 Feb. 1866); *Semana Illustrada*, no. 279 (15 Apr. 1866); Andrew Gentes, *The Mass Deportation of Poles to Siberia, 1863–1880* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 37–73; Alekdsandr Moller, *Situation de la Pologne au 1er janvier 1865* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1865), 216–217.

[14] For further context, including the rise of "Brazilian fever," see Lenny Ureña Valerio, *Colonial Fantasies, Imperial Realities: Race Science and the Making of Polishness on the Fringes of the German Empire, 1840–1920* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2019).

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contract was rescinded in 1877 due to their failure to fulfill their quota, they still profited from the experience, as Bendaszewski got elected to Curitiba's city council in the years ahead.[15]

The for-profit Polish migration Jasienski envisioned following political defeat did not materialize due to changing conditions of receptivity. The political leanings of a younger Brazilian generation neutralized Catholicism as a parameter that automatically spelled a preference for certain migrant groups. In addition, the concurrent arrival of Confederate expatriates as potential settlers in Brazil eclipsed for a time any Polish emigration schemes, which would nonetheless take hold later on in response to different political circumstances in Europe and only once the Confederate fever in Brazil had passed.

A PENCHANT FOR CONFEDERATES

Jasienski and Mikoszewski did not find the support they expected partly because they failed to engage a rising cadre of young radicals taking politics by storm – a group that later became known as the "generation of 1870." These promising professionals enjoyed the protection of old-guard Liberals like Joaquim Saldanha Marinho, who in 1860 acquired the third most important newspaper in Brazil, the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (*DRJ*) (where Quintino Bocaiúva worked as coeditor), and who would shortly become grão-mestre of the Grande Oriente Unido. And they enjoyed the support of Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, a Liberal Paulista heading a prominent family clan from Itu, in the vicinity of Campinas and Sorocaba, who rose from deputy in 1863 to minister of Agriculture in 1866.[16] However, many of these younger Liberals were not born into privilege and faced obstacles to government employment and political placements. By the 1860s, a law degree and political patronage no longer guaranteed entry into the most selective circles of imperial

[15] *Dezenove de Dezembro*, nos. 1652, 1709 (27 Oct. 1875, 20 May 1876); *Relatório do presidente da província PR* (1876), 90–91; Decree no. 5699 (31 July), *CLIB* (1874), vol. 2, pt. I, 783; Decree no. 6549 (13 Apr.), *CLIB* (1877), vol. 40, pt. II, 306–307; Edmundo Gardolinski, *Imigração e colonização polonesa* (Porto Alegre: Regional, 1958), 15.

[16] Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 211–212; Luiz Gonzaga da Silva Leme, *Genealogia paulistana* (São Paulo: Duprat & Comp., 1904), vol. 4, 252–253.

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society, much less to government.[17] Hence, professional occupations such as journalism absorbed this floating talent pool, while business undertakings furnished some financial independence and a hard-won political acumen.

Notably, these aspiring politicians were prepared to cash in when Confederate veterans mulled leaving their homelands for Mexico, British Honduras, and the Brazilian Empire. A rambunctious, pro-slavery foreign policy and a fledging southern navalism in the decades before the Civil War preceded and informed talk of emigration among unreconstructed southerners.[18] Since the 1790s, debates about emigration in the United States had focused on the possibility of expatriating freedmen and women to Haiti or Africa, ideas that Black communities in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and elsewhere weighed differently and hotly debated.[19] But the tables turned when the tightening sectional crisis over the future of slavery in new US territories and the tenuous compromises reached during the 1850s transformed white slaveholders themselves into prospective expatriates. After losing the war in 1865, unreconstructed southerners heeded long-standing campaigns for US expansion into Latin America, especially those of Navy officer Matthew Fontaine Maury, who had spent years talking up the Amazon basin as a future Mississippi. Advocating to expand a "policy of commerce," Maury touted an American Amazon through the popular southern improvement journal *DeBow's Review* and at the southern commercial conferences of 1852 and 1853 in New Orleans and Memphis. The findings of an exploratory voyage to the Amazon commissioned by him also came out in pamphlet form, telling an even wider audience of the agricultural potential of a region closed off to international navigation.[20]

[17] Angela Alonso, *Idéias em movimento: A geração 1870 na crise do Brasil-Império* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2002), 104–120; Roderick Barman and Jean Barman, "The Role of the Law Graduate in the Political Elite of Imperial Brazil," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 18, no. 4 (1976): 423–449.

[18] Matthew Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

[19] Beverly Tomek, *Colonization and Its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Martha Jones, *Birthright Citizens: A History of Race and Rights in Antebellum America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 35–49, 89–107; Elena K. Abbott, *Beacons of Liberty: International Free Soil and the Fight for Racial Justice in Antebellum America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

[20] *DeBow's Review* 14, no. 1 (Jan.–June 1853): 449–460; John Franklin Kvach, "The First New South: J. D. B. De Bow's Promotion of a Modern Economy in the Old South" (PhD thesis, University of Tennessee, 2008), 62–64; Donald Marquand Dozer, "Matthew

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Information about Brazil more generally circulated in the United States through other media. Louis Agassiz, the Swiss naturalist trained under von Martius, delivered lectures on Brazilian zoology in US university circuits even before he completed his own tour of the Amazon in 1865 and published *A Journey in Brazil* in 1868. His travel companion, Dr. Hartt, enraptured audiences with lively reports on their findings, going so far as to produce a live boa constrictor during a New York presentation. US readers were perhaps more familiar with *Brazil and the Brazilians* (1857), a popular work written by Methodist minister Daniel Kidder and Presbyterian missionary James Fletcher, which coincidentally reached its sixth print run in 1867 as emigration drives from the US South got underway.[21] The first English newspaper published in Brazil, the weekly *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, also made its rounds in US ports through the new Brazil-New York steam-packet line, while its founder and editor, an Irishman by the name of William Scully, put forth a guidebook to show that a move to Brazil promised "prospects far superior to those offered by Australia, New Zealand, or the United States."[22]

Yet emigration remained a contentious subject in the US South. New Orleans minister Ballard Dunn acknowledged that emigration was not for everyone even as he rambled against federal taxes and the putative insecurity of life and property after the war.[23] Northern papers encouraged "anticipative exiles" from the south to "stay at home" and "fight what remains of this contest at the ballot-box." When the ex-Confederate major Lansford Warren Hastings readied "five hundred unreconstructed

Fontaine Maury's Letter of Instruction to William Lewis Herndon," *HAHR* 28, no. 2 (1948): 212–228; Matthew Fontaine Maury, *The Amazon and the Atlantic Slopes of South America* (Washington, DC: Franck Taylor, 1853); Jere W. Roberson, "The Memphis Commercial Convention of 1853: Southern Dreams and 'Young America,'" *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1974): 279–296; Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire*, 32–49, 70–102.

[21] *New York Daily Tribune* (13 Nov. 1867); *New York Times* (21 Nov. 1866); Daniel Kidder and James Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1867). For an in-depth examination of Brazil's image in the United States, and Fletcher's role in it, see Roberto Saba, *American Mirror: The United States and Brazil in the Age of Emancipation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), esp. 36–47.

[22] William Scully, *Brazil; Its Provinces and Chief Cities; The Manners & Customs of the People; Agricultural, Commercial, and other Statistics Taken from the Latest Official Documents* (London: Murray & Co., 1866).

[23] Ballard Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners* (New York: George B. Richardson, 1866).

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brethren" to leave Alabama for Brazil, one newspaper described the expedition as "full of woe" and forecasted that "all Alabama may be in Brazil some morning" as it warned readers of Hastings's attempt to profit from contractual "forfeitures" incurred by passengers unprepared or with excess baggage on the day of departure. In the South, too, newspapers cautioned that emigration contracts for Brazil were regarded "more in the breach than in the observance." "Let our people stay at home," it read. Brazil, where Blacks and whites mingled "indistinctly," was "no country for them."[24] Notwithstanding racist predictions, queries about Brazil overwhelmed the vice-consular offices Brazil had set up in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Wilmington, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, and Pensacola. From late February to early December 1865, Brazil's minister Joaquim Nascentes de Azambuja (brother of the ACC director Bernardo Nascentes de Azambuja, discussed in Chapter 6) received at least 75 inquiries about emigration at the Brazilian legation in Washington, the vast majority from southern states but at least 12 from non-Confederate or border states.[25] At first, official response fell short of this surge in interest. Brazil's general consul only tepidly promoted Brazil as a destination. Yet, after the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* published an overview of the "favors of emigration," Brazil's vice-consul in New Orleans distributed "official information" without authorization in order to incite migrants to head for Brazil. And when Brazilian deputies pressed the general consul on his own passivity on the matter, he finally hurried a brochure with land prices and other conditions of emigrant reception.[26]

Scientific accounts and commercial propaganda compelled US southern agents to visit Brazil in search of favorable settlement contracts and subsidies. In mid-1865, a Shreveport paper alleged that Maury had obtained more than the 1,000 acres offered to each Confederate veteran, a promising start for an emigration drive if only emperor Maximilian of Mexico had not subsequently hired him as his own colonization agent

[24] *New York Daily Tribune* (2 Sept., 18 Oct. 1865); *Gazette & Comet* (12 Oct. 1865).

[25] José Maria Nascentes d'Azambuja to Foreign Affairs minister José Antonio Saraiva (24 Jan. 1866) in "Imigração Norte-Americana pra o Brasil," *RIC* 4, no. 2 (June 1943): 268–270, 277–285.

[26] AHI-RCB-New York, 258/3/8, Luis Ferreira d'Aguiar to Foreign minister Cansansão de Sinimbú (2 Jan. 1860); d'Aguiar to Foreign minister Saraiva (2, 11 Aug. 1865; 22 Jan. 1866, confidential); d'Aguiar to Foreign minister Martim Francisco Ribeiro de Andrada (22 Oct. 1866); *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, no. 12 (24 July 1865).

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instead.[27] Soon, southern prospectors sent optimistic reports from Brazil. Robert Meriwether and H. A. Shaw, two scouts commissioned by the Southern Colonization Society of Edgefield, wrote back to South Carolina with excited impressions about interior São Paulo.[28] An ex-Confederate surgeon by the name of James McFadden Gaston offered greater details, referencing American merchants, coffee factors, and railroad engineers who could help the newly arrived establish a footing in a strange land.[29] Within three days of arrival in Rio in September 1865, Gaston secured an audience with Ignácio da Cunha Galvão, the appointed head of a new colonization secretariat created as part of the 1864 revisions of Olinda's Emigrant Transport Ordinance (1858). Galvão avidly welcomed Gaston and began drawing contracts for land sales and government aid.[30] Compared to Azorean or German colonos or even to Jasienski's efforts, Gaston's ease of access to government conduits was unparalleled.

Local officials also responded energetically to prospectors beyond São Paulo and Paraná, the two provinces attracting the most southerners. As president of Minas Gerais in 1865, an eager Saldanha Marinho reported to Bocaiúva that he had "obtained much in favor of American emigration" from the provincial assembly, a deed he repeated as São Paulo's president in 1867–1868.[31] Such enthusiasm might have given Bocaiúva the first inklings of the role that a colonization agent could play, for which he would have found further confirmation in other provinces. In Bahia, for instance, president Manoel Pinto de Sousa Dantas organized a special commission of six "illustrious citizens experienced in public affairs" to devise guidelines for encouraging the settlement of the *colonos americanos* along the Jequitinhonha and Pardo rivers. The leading recommendation of the commission, one of whose members professed that "Yankees" possessed the "congenital quality … of never ceasing to work," was to appoint a special emigration agent in the United States.[32]

[27] *The South-Western* (2 Aug. 1865); Luis Robles Pezuela, *Memoria presentada à S.M. el Emperador por el ministro de Fomento* (Mexico: Imprenta de J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1866), 108–109, 568–572.

[28] *The Advertiser* (2 May 1866).

[29] James McFadden Gaston, *Hunting a Home in Brazil: The Agricultural Resources and other Characteristics of the Country. Also, the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants* (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1867), 1–25.

[30] Decree no. 3254 (20 Apr.), *CLIB* (1864), vol. 1, pt. II, 59.

[31] FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21-pasta 4, Saldanha Marinho to Bocaiúva (2 Jan. 1866).

[32] Manoel Pinto de Sousa Dantas, *Relatório do presidente da província BA* (1866), 47–50, annexes 6–7; APEB, Agricultura-mç. 4607, special commissioner João José de Oliveira Junqueira to Sousa Dantas (Dec. 1866).

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As they waited for this future Brazilian agent to materialize, officials in provinces far and wide across the Empire did their best to please US incomers. Authorities in Belém, for instance, flocked to Lansford Warren Hastings when he arrived in mid-May 1866. Hastings was an adventurer who walked the Oregon trail in 1842, sat at the California constitutional convention in 1849, and partook in Confederate and filibustering schemes around the southwest border with Mexico before a newspaper described him as one of many "disappointed applicants to the office of Governor" in Alabama. Nevertheless, paraenses treated him obsequiously, offering accommodations and subsidizing survey tours on an Amazon Company steamer, whose very owner, the barão de Mauá, credited Hastings' presence with the projected aperture of the Amazon to international commerce on 7 September 1867. Indeed, a month to the day of the Amazon's opening, Hastings signed a contract with Pará's government endowing him with 60 square leagues of public lands between the Tapajós and Curuá rivers close to Santarém. Minister Sousa Dantas prodded provincial authorities to begin land surveying activities for the Hastings grant immediately. When, months later, a party of American emigrants came to inspect the Hastings grant, they, too, were afforded free room and board for an entire month in Santarém.[33]

In the end, however, numerous miscommunications and delays revealed the chasm between government officers' eagerness to please Confederate migrants and the actual execution of their plans. While provincial governments hustled to survey lands and provide arrivals with a reception center, accountability became a problem. Pará's provincial president approved 26:000$000 in loans to Hastings for land measuring and parceling activities and appointed two Brazilian engineers to begin work, but months later land surveys remained incomplete. Authorities later refused to pay an American surveyor who stepped in to continue land measurements. Meanwhile, it became clear through the provincial president's communications that allotted funds were being employed for

[33] Blanche Weaver, "Confederate Emigration to Brazil," *The Journal of Southern History* 27, no. 1 (1961): 41; *New York Daily Tribune* (18 Oct. 1865); Sousa (Mauá), *Relatório da Companhia de Navegação e Commercio do Amazonas* (Typographia de Lourenço Winter: Rio de Janeiro, 1867), 24–26; *Jornal do Pará*, nos. 19, 101 (23 Jan., 3 May 1867); Saba, *American Mirror*, 95–104; Célio Antônio Alcântara Silva, "Capitalismo e escravidão: a imigração confederada para o Brasil" (PhD diss., Unicamp, 2011), 249–279.

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the daily sustenance of auxiliary personnel and for objects for personal use.[34]

Bahia, too, had to come to terms with other such accounting problems, each of which showed how initial government promises of financial support could spiral into greater spending. Having already received 1:400$000 in loans from the provincial treasury, US migrants John Ogden and Henry Thompson demanded an additional advance of 600$000 in late 1866. The commission convoked by Sousa Dantas while still Bahia's president had recommended that no more than one conto (1:000$000) be disbursed in loans to the first 50 families that settled in the Jequitinhonha valley. Hence, the new request effectively doubled the initially stipulated quantities. Nonetheless, the demand was met.

And news spread fast. Ogden's and Thompson's success in attaining the increment inspired Charles Rowley, another prospector, to look into favors from Bahian officials on top of those already on offer by the central government. His efforts led one official to warn that "Government should be cautious and remain informed of their proceedings."[35] Indeed, the government slowly awoke to the need for policing contractual compliance. From New York, the Brazilian consul suggested spying on prospectors like Gen. William Wallace Wood by having vice-consuls "observe his goings" to ascertain "his position and influence" and "the means he has at his disposal." On paper, the alarm seemed unwarranted because Wood had obtained promising conditions from Brazilian officials for the thousand families from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Virginia he allegedly represented. But a few months later, Wood in fact found stable employment, settled down in Natchez and suspended his efforts.[36]

Significantly, Brazilian officials seemed to willfully ignore the fact that the demise of slavery in the United States was a primary motivation for southern "fire-eaters" to seek new abodes overseas. So much was evident in the US press. According to the *New York Herald*, these "'last ditch' men who say they cannot and will not remain in the South or a country where the negroes are free," looked to Brazil as a potential homestead

[34] *Jornal do Pará*, nos. 253, 267 (7 Nov. 1867, 22 Nov. 1868).

[35] APEB-mç. 4607, Provincial Treasury commissary Pio de Noronha to provincial president of Bahia (11 Dec. 1866, 14 Feb., 9 Apr. 1867).

[36] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}34, Sousa Dantas to provincial president of Pará (28 Feb. 1867); d'Aguiar to Azambuja (2 Feb. 1866), Azambuja to Saraiva (17 May 1866) in "Imigração Norte-Americana," 288–290.

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"where they can once more … live under a slave government."[37] Accordingly, Gaston, Meriwether, and Shaw, all of whom were prior slavers, actively pressured the Agriculture minister to revoke the law of 7 November 1831 prohibiting the importation of enslaved persons and non-Brazilian *libertos*. They alleged that their freedmen and women would accompany their old enslavers as free laborers of their own accord.

The matter came to a head when, against initial objections from the Brazilian consul, Mississippi planter John Abraham Cole embarked from New York to Rio with some of his former slaves in early 1866. His case came before the Justice section of the Conselho de Estado, which emitted an opinion against the importation of Cole's slaves, citing the 1831 law to avoid the fraudulent importation of slaves under the guise of freedmen.[38] Significantly, the three authors of this opinion – which was quickly sanctioned by the emperor – were old-guard politicians that critically espoused modernizing trends: Nabuco de Araújo, the chief advocate for the international opening of the Amazon; Eusébio de Queirós, the author of the slave trade ban of 1850; and Francisco Jê Acaiaba de Montezuma, now visconde Jequitinhonha, the auditor of SPC finances in 1839 (see Chapter 3). But even after the Conselho's 1866 decision, southern emigrants continued to cite slavery to justify their translocation to Brazil. James Cone of Brenham, Texas, for example, couched his requests to Bahia's president on the basis of his and his compatriots' search for "some country where the institution of slavery still existed, whose climate & productions were similar to those of the late Confederate States & whose Government & laws were such as to give full protection to life, liberty & property."[39]

Liberals and emergent republicans had some reason to turn a blind eye to slaveholding among US settlers. For one thing, the Brazilian Empire had steered clear of the US Civil War, maintaining a semblance of neutrality.[40] Then there was cotton. Even before the collapse of US cotton exports in 1862–1863, cotton enjoyed a renaissance in São Paulo driven in part by the exhausted soil of the old coffee frontier in the Paraíba

[37] *New York Herald* (23 July 1865).
[38] Silva, "Capitalismo e escravidão," 157–159, 210–213.
[39] APEB-mç. 4607, James Cone to provincial president of Bahia (20 July 1867).
[40] *ACD* (1865), vol. 1, 7. On the effects of Confederate and Union vessels arriving at Brazilian ports, see Isadora Moura Mota, "Other Geographies of Sturggle: Afro-Brazilians and the American Civil War," *HAHR* 100, no. 1 (2020): 35–62.

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Valley, as the district council of Bananal confirmed to São Paulo's provincial president in 1861.[41] Improvers saw the decline of coffee as fertile ground for innovation. In a "Manual for the Cotton Cultivator," Cândido Nascentes de Azambuja (brother to the director of the Land and Colonization division and the ACC founder) assayed international cotton markets, identifying New Orleans and Algeria as the most productive. The following year, *AIN* editor and ex-SCT member Frederico Burlamaque published his *Monographia do algodoeiro* and supervised experimental cotton cultivars at the IIFA, where he served as secretary under the marquês de Abrantes. By 1863, Agriculture minister Pedro de Alcântara Bellegarde distributed 1,000 lbs. of Georgia cotton seeds donated by US chargé d'affaires William van Vleck Lidgerwood, as he celebrated that "the progressive increase of the culture and harvesting of cotton across the Empire make it the most lucrative of all cultures." As the Confederate emigration to Brazil picked up its pace, the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* echoed this prediction, reminding readers that cotton was "a staple … well adapted to the capabilities of white labor and small proprietorship" and so perfectly fitting for newcomers from the US South, heralds of a new cotton era.[42]

Brazilian officials' and intellectuals' riveting enthusiasm for Confederate exiles, especially in preference over Polish migrants, serves as a salient reminder that colonization did not simply reflect a transition to free labor. Rather, in this era of global conflict, it sat at the juncture of complex labor, economic, and expatriate streams that in various ways overlapped with planter and government interests. Soon, the vogue for Confederate veterans also dovetailed with a new colonization company whose express purpose was to exploit both Southerners' interest and pro-US emigration sentiment in Brazil.

[41] Thales Zamberlan Pereira, "Poor Man's Crop? Slavery in Brazilian Cotton Regions (1800–1850)," *Estudos Econômicos* 48, no4 (2018): 623–655; Alice Canabrava, *O desenvolvimento da cultura do algodão na província de São Paulo (1861–1875)* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2011 [1951]), 78–87, 100–101.

[42] Cândido Nascentes de Azambuja, "Manual do cultivador de algodão," *AIN*, no. 2 (Feb. 1862): 52–72; Bernardo Augusto Nascentes de Azambuja, *Relatório das terras públicas e da colonisação* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de João Ignácio da Silva, 1862); Frederico Burlamaque, *Monographia do algodoeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de Nicolau Lobo Vianna e Filhos, 1863); *Relatório da Agricultura* (1864), 361–363; "The Future of Cotton in Brazil," *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, no. 23 (8 Jan. 1866). On Lidgerwood's critical role and meteoric rise, see Saba, *American Mirror*, 61, 146–153.

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THE SOCIEDADE INTERNACIONAL DE IMIGRAÇÃO: UNLIKELY ALLIANCES AND THE PITFALLS OF YANKEESMO

As global conflicts brought various new migrations into focus, Brazilian planters, urban professionals, and government figures rushed to make the most of peopling initiatives. In early 1866, landowners from the exhausted coffee frontiers rallied together with old-time liberals, brokers, planters, and young republicans around Vassouras planter Caetano Furquim de Almeida's call to establish a new colonization association. Furquim de Almeida was long familiar with colonization as the younger brother of late Baptista Caetano de Almeida, the São João d'el Rei luminary who kickstarted the Azorean colono trade in 1835 with captain Jardim (see Chapter 3).[43] Having married into the Teixeira Leite family led by the barão de Vassouras, Furquim de Almeida now belonged to an old plantation elite seeking economic alternatives and new improvement methods, including colonization.[44]

The first meeting had poor attendance. But discussions remained enthusiastic and, thanks to foreign attendees, substantive. A coffee factor with the surname Schmidt (with unclear relationship to Brazil's vice-consul in German cities) underlined the necessity of "liberal measures" and better communication routes to increase migrant arrivals. US broker Charles Nathan in turn suggested that the proposed association focus on attracting emigrants from the US South, which benefited concurrent efforts to organize a steamship line between southern states and Brazil. Francisco Travassos Valdez, who had served as a Portuguese official in the Luso-British mixed commissions at Angola and the Cape of Good Hope, as government secretary in Timor, and as secretary of Portugal's special commission on colonization and indigenous work in overseas provinces, recommended Portuguese colonial policies, including state-sponsored Azorean and Madeiran emigration, land distribution, and a credit-purveying Banco de Ultramar.[45]

Quintino Bocaiúva, soon to become Brazilian agent in New York, tried to bring these various strands together while restoring the focus on

[43] Silva Leme, *Genealogia paulistana*, vol. 6, 261–263.

[44] The first meeting of the SII was on 16 Jan., followed by another on 6 Feb.: *DRJ*, nos. 32, 34 (7, 9 Feb. 1866).

[45] *Correio Mercantil*, nos. 3, 17 (3, 17 Jan. 1866); Gaston, *Hunting a Home*, 366–369; Eugene Ridings, *Business Interest Groups in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 38; Francisco Travassos Valdez, *Da Oceania a Lisboa* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Perseverança, 1866), v–vi.

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colonization. Invoking peopling tropes, he proffered that the "most noble aspiration of American peoples must be to nullify of the desert" through immigration, which required rural credit and, notably, liberties like civil marriage, which went against the grain of Catholic precepts. He then celebrated a current bill on limited liability associations that could promote "the spirit of association [and] fecundate the sources of public wealth," encapsulating attendees' collective anticipation of profits from the proposed company.[46]

The group elected to a charter-drafting commission reflected a balance of foreign and national members including Furquim; Tavares Bastos; US broker C. J. Harrah; Portuguese merchant and director in Rio of the Brazilian and Portuguese Bank Limited, Rodrigo Pereira Felício; German merchant and interim Württemberg consul, Herman Haupt; and the Irish editor William Scully. Soon after, the Sociedade Internacional de Imigração (SII) came to light.[47] Board elections held few surprises: Furquim took the presidency and Tavares Bastos became executive director, while Bocaiúva and Fernando Castiço, a Portuguese journalist at the Court, joined Haupt, Harrah, and Scully as board members. The SII began operations within and beyond the Court, true to its mission to seek "the whole country's support." Bocaiúva's editorials courted supporters regardless of political preferences or nationality, pontificating that directed migrations were a "national question [that] should not be of interest only to those of this or that party, but to everyone." Membership swelled to 343 subscribers, of whom 285 paid their dues. The SII won the unstinting support of Bahia's Commercial Association, which saw it as contributing to peopling by providing "good services" in the form of immigrant hostels and colonies.[48]

The SII's diffuse remit earned it ample favors while in practice it pursued a reformist agenda. From its first meeting, the company got the blessing of Agriculture minister Paula Souza and colonization secretary Galvão, who offered to cover rent in any building of its choosing. The SII soon opened a migrant hostel on the rua da Imperatriz. At the same time, it commissioned reprints of Antonio Joaquim de Macedo's *Da liberdade religiosa no Brasil* and Portuguese liberal Alexandre Herculano's *Estudos sobre o casamento civil* in order to allay concerns that migrants' creeds or

[46] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 17 (17 Jan. 1866); *DRJ*, no. 14 (17 Jan.1866).

[47] *DRJ*, nos. 27, 28, 45 (1, 2, 22 Feb. 1866); *Almanak administrativo* (1865), 24, 425; Decree no. 3628 (16 Mar.), *CLIB*, vol. 2 (1866), 132–134; *A Ilustração Portuguesa*, no. 31 (13 Feb. 1888).

[48] SII, *Relatório anual da directoria* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve, 1867), 3–4; *DRJ*, no. 122 (23 May 1866).

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family inheritances (due to non-Catholic marriages) would go unprotected in Brazil. "In effect," preached Tavares Bastos in the first company report in 1867, "to pretend that the system of public land sales by itself had been enough to attract Old-World emigrants ... would be an incomplete and inexact appreciation." To follow the US model, Brazil had to cultivate "individual liberties, local subsidies, decentralization, popular education," in short, "all the driving forces that constitute the mechanisms of modern democracy."[49]

The Court's top dailies and the Commercial Association of Rio de Janeiro provided firm footing for the SII. Its diverse membership included brokers, lawyers, business owners, customs officials, and philanthropists. One, John Frederik Russell, was a high officer in the National Guard and a pharmacist at the Largo do Machado. Others were partners in Mauá's companies.[50] Prominent public officials included José Ignácio Silveira da Mota, soon to be senator and owner of the Ilha das Flores, a future migrant hostel. There were offspring of old colonization advocates and extended planter kin, including Henrique Lahmeyer, an important coffee factor married to Furquim's daughter. Journalists and scribes such as Adolph Hubert, editor of the *Courier du Brésil* and early disseminator of Allan Kardec's texts in Brazil, and Francisco Leão Cohn, a National Guard lieutenant and copyreader for the *Diário Official*, completed the list.

Bocaiúva outshone other members in promoting the SII, using his position as new *DRJ* editor to praise it and report on its operations with a verve that transcended the simple agrarianism of Saldanha Marinho's earlier editorship.[51] As a successful playwright, Bocaiúva dramatized old topics, arguing that land tenure and immigration promotion were indissolubly tied to larger questions of political rights and even to a higher national calling.[52] He even dared antagonize senator José de Alencar regarding the Brazilian Constitution's ban on naturalized foreigners' eligibility to political office, even though they agreed on the inviolability of foreigners' marriages and religious freedoms.[53] "The press" itself, said

[49] Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, "Reflexões sobre a imigração," in SII, *Relatório Anual*, 5.

[50] Roderick Barman, "Business and Government in Imperial Brazil: The Experience of Viscount Mauá," *JLAS* 13, no. 2 (1981): 239–2164.

[51] *DRJ*, no. 44 (8 May 1860), nos. 14, 32 (17 Jan., 7 Feb. 1866).

[52] *DRJ*, no. 24 (28 Jan. 1866).

[53] *DRJ*, nos. 31, 33, 35 (6, 8, 10 Feb. 1866); David Gueiros Vieira, "O problema do direito civil do imigrante e a queda do gabinete de Olinda – 1866," *Revista de Informação Legislativa* 11, no. 44 (Oct.–Dec. 1974): 153–160.

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Bocaiúva, was "an apostolate." And as one of the principal if most contentious preachers of the SII's mission, he left the *DRJ* to spread the word among potential emigrants themselves.

Bocaiúva arrived in New York in late October 1866. Interested parties who read his ads or leaflets found him amid the downtown bustle at 26 Broadway, a stone's throw away from where one of the anchorages for the Brooklyn Bridge would soon begin construction. From his new stead, special agent Bocaiúva collected information on available resources for colonos from sympathetic provincial authorities in Brazil like Rio Grande do Sul president Francisco do Rego Barros, brother to the Rego Barros who had recruited the Brummers many years earlier. In view of both provincial and imperial government inducements, Bocaiúva hence began to target US citizens as well as newly arrived Germans and Irishmen.[54] Top dailies were dismayed at the hundreds of men lined up on any given week outside Bocaiúva's office. And none of them were Black. As Bocaiúva's handbills made clear, "no colored people" were "permitted as emigrants," in keeping with prohibitions on the importation of slaves "from any country whatever" established in principle in 1831 and reinforced in 1850. For Bocaiúva, it made sense to reprise these precedents in preparation for the possibility that ex-Confederates would bring formerly enslaved workers to Brazil.[55]

Yet the huddled masses that "crowded [the entrance to the office] from morning till night" were not in fact the "Americans" for whom, apparently, Brazilians felt "a warm affection" as "models of enterprise, science, skill, and progressiveness." To draw in this kind of emigrant and avoid "the poorer classes," Bocaiúva publicized that emigrants could attain up to 125,000 *braças* of land at varying prices in provinces of their own choosing (Figure 7.1). Colonos were also exempted from import duties for their belongings and from military (though not National Guard) service, and they could naturalize as Brazilians within two years. Furthermore, the Brazilian government would offer room and board in a migrant hostel upon arrival, transport to their final destination, subsistence for the first six months, land surveying and clearing, agricultural implements, seeds, and a "provisional house" awaiting them in their new "homestead."[56]

[54] AHRS, cx. 20-mç. 38, Bocaiúva to RS president (20 Jan. 1867)
[55] *New York Tribune* (21 Nov. 1866); *The New York Times* (25 Nov. 1866).
[56] FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21-pasta 5, "Emigration to Brazil by the United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Co., on the 22nd of Each Month" (broadside); *New York Herald* (21 Nov. 1866).

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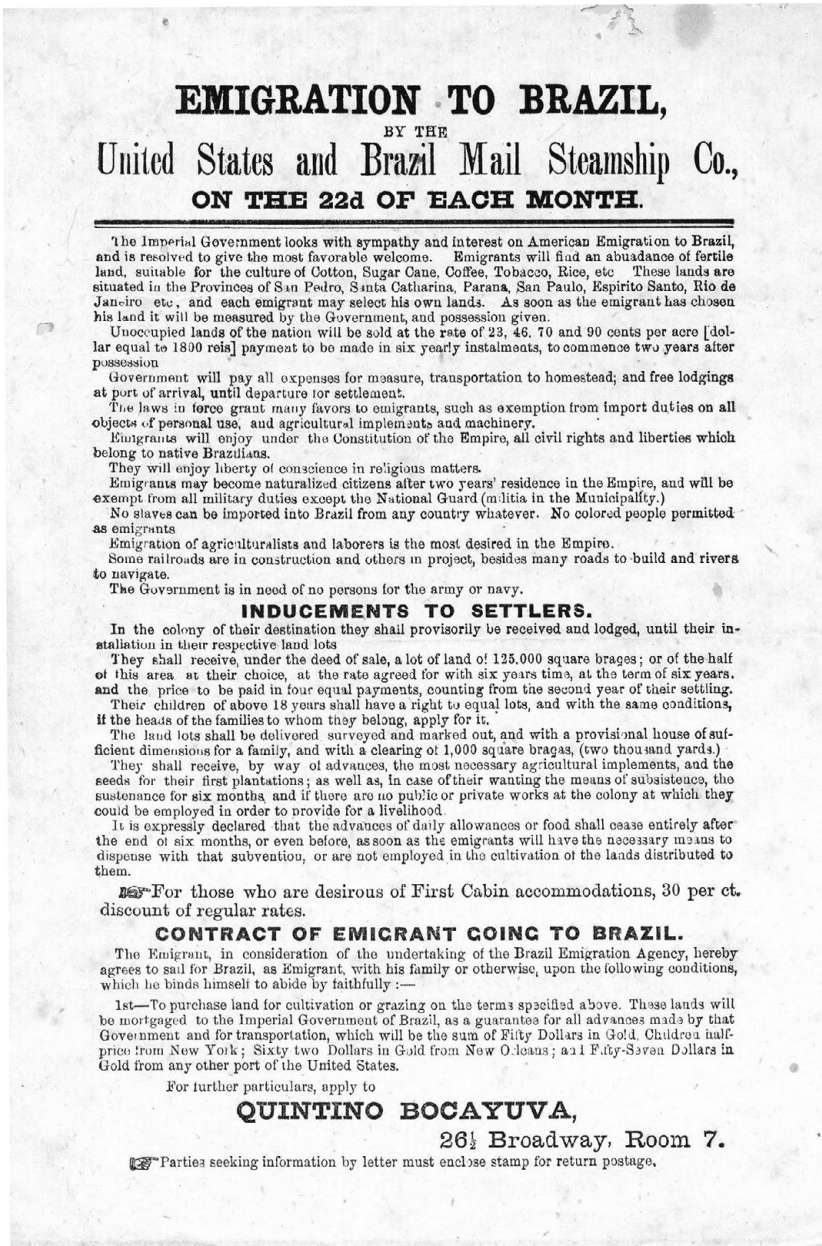

EMIGRATION TO BRAZIL,

BY THE

United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Co.,

ON THE 22d OF EACH MONTH.

The Imperial Government looks with sympathy and interest on American Emigration to Brazil, and is resolved to give the most favorable welcome. Emigrants will find an abundance of fertile land, suitable for the culture of Cotton, Sugar Cane, Coffee, Tobacco, Rice, etc These lands are situated in the Provinces of San Pedro, Santa Catharina, Parana, San Paulo, Espirito Santo, Rio de Janeiro etc, and each emigrant may select his own lands. As soon as the emigrant has chosen his land it will be measured by the Government, and possession given.

Unoccupied lands of the nation will be sold at the rate of 23, 46, 70 and 90 cents per acre [dollar equal to 1800 reis] payment to be made in six yearly instalments, to commence two years after possession

Government will pay all expenses for measure, transportation to homestead; and free lodgings at port of arrival, until departure for settlement.

The laws in force grant many favors to emigrants, such as exemption from import duties on all objects of personal use, and agricultural implements and machinery.

Emigrants will enjoy under the Constitution of the Empire, all civil rights and liberties which belong to native Brazilians.

They will enjoy liberty of conscience in religious matters.

Emigrants may become naturalized citizens after two years' residence in the Empire, and will be exempt from all military duties except the National Guard (militia in the Municipality.)

No slaves can be imported into Brazil from any country whatever. No colored people permitted as emigrants

Emigration of agriculturalists and laborers is the most desired in the Empire.

Some railroads are in construction and others in project, besides many roads to build and rivers to navigate.

The Government is in need of no persons for the army or navy.

INDUCEMENTS TO SETTLERS.

In the colony of their destination they shall provisorily be received and lodged, until their installation in their respective land lots

They shall receive, under the deed of sale, a lot of land of 125.000 square brages; or of the half of this area at their choice, at the rate agreed for with six years time, at the term of six years. and the price to be paid in four equal payments, counting from the second year of their settling.

Their children of above 18 years shall have a right to equal lots, and with the same conditions, if the heads of the families to whom they belong, apply for it.

The land lots shall be delivered surveyed and marked out, and with a provisional house of sufficient dimensions for a family, and with a clearing of 1,000 square bragas, (two thousand yards.)

They shall receive, by way of advances, the most necessary agricultural implements, and the seeds for their first plantations; as well as, in case of their wanting the means of subsistence, the sustenance for six months, and if there are no public or private works at the colony at which they could be employed in order to provide for a livelihood.

It is expressly declared that the advances of daily allowances or food shall cease entirely after the end of six months, or even before, as soon as the emigrants will have the necessary means to dispense with that subvention, or are not employed in the cultivation of the lands distributed to them.

☞For those who are desirous of First Cabin accommodations, 30 per ct. discount of regular rates.

CONTRACT OF EMIGRANT GOING TO BRAZIL.

The Emigrant, in consideration of the undertaking of the Brazil Emigration Agency, hereby agrees to sail for Brazil, as Emigrant, with his family or otherwise, upon the following conditions, which he binds himself to abide by faithfully :—

1st—To purchase land for cultivation or grazing on the terms specified above. These lands will be mortgaged to the Imperial Government of Brazil, as a guarantee for all advances made by that Government and for transportation, which will be the sum of Fifty Dollars in Gold. Children half-price from New York; Sixty two Dollars in Gold from New Orleans; and Fifty-Seven Dollars in Gold from any other port of the United States.

For further particulars, apply to

QUINTINO BOCAYUVA,

26½ Broadway, Room 7.

☞Parties seeking information by letter must enclose stamp for return postage.

FIGURE 7.1 Bocaiúva's propaganda to lure "enterprising" Americans FGV-CPDOC, QBccp 1855.08.21. Image courtesy of CPDOC-FGV.

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To calm public excitement over Brazilian promises, Bocaiúva set a $50 fee as a "guarantee of good faith" that would be duly reimbursed to emigrants once en route to Brazil. Incensed critics saw the charge as profiteering, including Johann Jakob Sturz, who was in the United States at the time and now sported a "hostile spirit against Brazil."[57] In response, an anonymous contributor to the *New York Times* under the pseudonym "Veritas" – no doubt Bocaiúva himself – defended Bocaiúva's credentials and cited Cornelius Garrison, owner of the steamship line to Brazil engaged with Brazilian diplomats since 1863, as a reputable associate who lent further credit to the Brazilian agency's work.[58]

FULL STEAM AHEAD: CUBAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO A BRAZILIAN RECRUITMENT NETWORK

A tight-knit community of Cuban merchants and exiles in New York grounded Bocaiúva's operations thanks to his close friend Bernardo Caymari, a savvy Cuban entrepreneur. Caymari had made a name for himself when the US government brought suit against him and Fausta Mora, a Cuban scion who owned many Manhattan properties, for freighting "merchandise" to either Confederate or Juarista rebels in Texas and hauling back $60,000-worth of cotton from Brownsville.[59] With Bocaiúva at hand, Caymari swiftly navigated Brazil's bureaucracy to obtain a contract between the Brazilian government and the United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company (hereafter USBM), which he secured in February 1866. The new packet service departed New York to stop at the international hub of St. Thomas before proceeding to Belém, Recife, Salvador, and Rio. As USBM representative, Caymari also secured

[57] Joaquim Nascentes de Azambuja to Sousa Dantas (27 Nov. 1866), in *RIC* 4, no. 2 (June 1943): 320–321.

[58] *New York Times* (16 Dec. 1866); Lisboa to Abrantes (6 Oct. 1863) in *Cadernos do CHDD* 15, no. 29 (2016): 108–111.

[59] *New York Herald* (7 Mar. 1866). Mora also owned an Odeon in Brooklyn rented out to Union forces as an armory between in 1862–1863. Caymari's "merchandise" was probably remnant military gear or munitions from the armory. In 1870, Mora's properties in Cuba were embargoed for suspected aid to Cuban rebels in the Ten Years' War. *Minutes of the Board of Supervisor of the County of Kings, Annual Session commencing January 4, 1865* (Brooklyn: "The Union" Steam Presses, 1865), 309–340; *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Transmitted to Congress with the Annual Message of the President, December 4, 1871* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1871). On the Cuban community in New York, see Lisandro Pérez, *Sugar, Cigars, and Revolution: The Making of Cuban New York* (New York: New York University Press, 2018).

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a lucrative contract to convey US emigrants to Brazilian ports, with USBM obtaining 10 percent of the price of passage up front and receiving reimbursements within a month.[60] As part of the deal, the USBM agreed to verify that emigrants were in fact agricultural workers and to comply with Olinda's 1858 Emigrant Transport Ordinance. The terms of agreement spanned two years at the height of the US exodus, which showed that New York interests prevailed over Charles Nathan's earlier attempt to establish southern steamship lines directly from the south, especially when the USBM also began covering departures from New Orleans at twice the cost as from New York.

Approved by minister Paula Souza, Caymari's contract also assigned Bocaiúva as company agent, a position that would allow him to bridge the interests of the SII, the USBM, and the Brazilian government.[61] In New York, Bocaiúva worked expeditiously. Synchronizing with the Brazilian legation, conveniently located across the street from his office, and the USBM's bureau, a few blocks south on Broadway in no. 5 Bowling Green. He contrived a massive emigrant sweep in record time, which earned him praise in Brazil. When a shipment of 220 migrants landed at Rio aboard the *South America*, an exultant Tavares Bastos told him of a private letter in which the emperor himself purportedly instructed Agriculture minister Sousa Dantas "to encourage Bocaiúva, who has talent and shows great inclination to be of service ... Carry on, then. *Go ahead*!"[62]

Bocaiúva's exertions set in motion a migrant inflow that scholars estimate at 2,000 US southerners, but which was likely higher considering that 279 and 522 emigrants left respectively from New York and New Orleans in the second quarter of 1867 alone.[63] It was unclear how much Bocaiúva's precautions may have contributed to the southern port's greater departures over New York, where most transports from the US South would stop en route to Brazil. Regardless, it was profits that benchmarked Bocaiúva's efficacy. From March to December 1867, Caymari billed the Agriculture ministry twenty times on behalf of the

[60] FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21-pasta 5, Bernardo Caymari (25 June 1866); Contract between the Imperial Government of Brazil and B. Caymari, USBM representative (2 July 1866); Decree (17 Feb.), *CLIB* (1866), vol. 2, 93–97; Sousa Dantas, *Relatório da Agricultura* (1866), 66–69; Decree no. 2168 (1 May), *CLIB* (1858), vol. 2, 276–284.

[61] FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21-pasta 5, Caymari (25 June 1866).

[62] FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21-pasta 5, Tavares Bastos to Bocaiúva (23 Dec. 1866).

[63] AHI-RCB-New York, 258/3/8, d'Aguiar to Antônio Coelho de Sá e Albuquerque (17 Nov. 1867).

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USBM for rendered services totaling 256:130$055. This astronomical sum represented 24 percent of the ministry's entire budget for Lands and Colonization on that fiscal year. An additional – and contentious – receipt for a single steamship voyage from New Orleans in August increased the bill by over 51 contos. No wonder, then, that minister Sousa Dantas had to request two supplemental credits – one in May, one in December – for that year's budget while he contested the August charge. In typical fashion, Bocaiúva's recruitments and the USBM stretched thin available government allocations.[64]

The Brazilian government struggled to cope with the rapid pace and steep costs of emigrant recruitment. For example, Sousa Dantas made little headway in accommodating the *South America*'s emigrants despite a month's notice of their arrival. The SII had to house 150 of the passengers in its hostel on Imperatriz street while Sousa Dantas barely managed to send 70 more to the government-run hostel further north at Praia Formosa. Poor selection parameters and poor public opinion also riddled the enterprise. Sousa Dantas realized that the *South America* settlers strayed far from the reputed industriousness of US emigrants.

In response, the USBM instructed Bocaiúva to produce passenger lists before departures. According to official instructions, Bocaiúva organized emigrants into three distinct classes. Those of first class – the most resourceful – were entitled to 30 percent reduction in the cost of travel, while a second class composed of those who lost their fortunes in the Civil War would receive favorable government loans. But Bocaiúva's success lay on a third class comprised of "simple workers" or "proletarians" responsible for covering their own travel costs or finding a planter who did. Predictably, many of the migrants sent by Bocaiúva failed to meet their debt obligations within days or weeks of arrival.

Critics in the press took note. It was claimed, for instance, that the "emigrants ... that came to Iguape" comprised all the "vagrants, vagabonds and lock-pickers from the streets of New York," having committed "disorders of all kinds, fires, assassination attempts, thefts." "Why not make Brazil into the Fernando Noronha of the United States?," concluded

[64] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}32, Agriculture minister Sousa Dantas to Treasury minister Zacarias (14 Mar., 6, 16, Apr., 6, 28, 31 May, 4, 8, 10, 21 June 1867); IA^{6}32, Sousa Dantas to Zacarias (3, 3 July, 8, 10, 28, 31 Aug., 19 Sept., 10, 16, 19 Oct., 5 Nov., 6 Dec. 1867); Decree no. 4038 (28 Dec.), *CLIB* (1867), vol. 3, pt. 2, 482–483, which showed that 1.856:647$413 had been authorized in September 1866 for both the Public Works, and Lands and Colonization divisions, the latter of which already had an assignation of 1.056:416$205.

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The United States & Brazil Mail Steamship Co's
Steamship NORTH AMERICA. Tons.
GARRISON & ALLEN, Agents, No. 5 Bowling Green, New York.

FIGURE 7.2 The *North America*, one of USBM's state-of-the-art steamers
The *North America*, The Mariners' Museum Collections, 1941.0645.000001. Image courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.

one letter, referring to Brazil's most notorious island penal colony, which some had recently proposed turning into an agricultural colony. An exasperated Sousa Dantas ordered Bocaiúva to move his operations to New Orleans, where he could respond to fresh inquiries from southerners and oversee expeditions like the one organized by Frank McMullan, a veteran of William Walker's filibustering and a lobbyist for a steamship line from Louisiana to Rio (Figure 7.2).[65]

Accidents and mishaps further complicated operations and tarnished the SII's image. Early in 1867, and only three hours out of New York, the USBM's 1,796-ton *North America* almost collided with a Danish vessel

[65] FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21, C. K. Garrison to Bocaiúva (22 Dec. 1866), Tavares Bastos to Bocaiúva (23 Dec. 1866), Sousa Dantas to Bocaiúva (24 Dec. 1866), Fernando da Rocha and Herman Haupt to Bocaiúva (24 Dec. 1866), McMullan to Azambuja (23 Oct. 1866); J. S. Diggs to Azambuja (23 Dec. 1866), Azambuja to Sousa Dantas (31 Oct. 1866), in *RII* 4, no. 2 (June 1943): 311–313, 315–316, 324–325; *JC*, no. 35 (4 Feb. 1867); William Clark Griggs, *The Elusive Eden: Frank McMullan's Confederate Colony in Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Weaver, "Confederate Emigration," 44–45. On Fernando de Noronha, see Henrique de Beaurepaire Rohan, *A Ilha de Fernando de Noronha considerada em relação ao estabelecimento de uma colonia agrícola penitenciária* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1865); and Peter Beattie, *Punishment in Paradise: Race, Slavery, Human Rights, and a Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Penal Colony* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

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returning from Rio with coffee. Although a collision was averted, the Danish ship sank and sustained five deaths. Their ship made an emergency stop at Martinique before continuing to Brazil with its 262 immigrants, but "a great bustle" yet awaited it in Rio. Once arrived, several colonos were held as suspects in connection to the homicide of a "poor employee of the Chamber of Deputies who was walking by" when a shot pierced the night air in Imperatriz street. A *JC* correspondent acerbically jested, "don't send us North Americans like the ones recently arrived, for they say they are famous *rowdies*. I don't know where poor Brazil will end up with this furor, this fashion of *Yankeesmo* (Yankeeism)."[66]

Nonetheless, in 1867, at least 10,032 migrants entered Rio de Janeiro, even if only 1,575 of these were US citizens. In no small part, this success was owing to a new deputy colonization agent hired by Bocaiúva: Domingo de Goicuria, the exiled son of a wealthy merchant family from Havana, and also Bernardo Caymari's father-in-law.[67] Goicuria brought with him critical connections and experience spanning the breadth of colonization efforts throughout the hemisphere. During the 1830s and '40s young Goicuria worked for his father's firm in England. Inspired by post-abolition experiments in Jamaica, in 1846 he offered the Spanish Crown a plan to import colonos to Cuba from his parents' homeland in northern Spain, but slave traffickers sabotaged his attempts to obtain a contract from the Junta de Fomento. Goicuria's reformism eventually earned him his exile, where he enmeshed himself in a revolutionary Cuban diaspora and a sprawling transatlantic political network.[68] In 1854, conservative Mexican president Antonio López de Santa Anna sold indigenous prisoners from the Caste War in Yucatán to Goicuria's family firm in Cuba.[69] Two years later, Goicuria found himself

[66] *JC*, nos. 51, 53, 54 (20, 22, 23 Feb. 1867); FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21-pasta 5, Azambuja to Bocaiúva (30 Jan. 1867); pasta 6, Sabino to Bocaiúva (22 Feb. 1867)

[67] *DRJ*, no. 222 (27 Aug. 1867).

[68] Domingo de Goicuria, *Memorial presentado a su majestad … para el aumento de la población blanca y la producción de azúcar en la isla de Cuba* (Madrid: Imprenta de J. Martín Alegría, 1846); José Antonio Saco, *Réplica … a la contestación del señor fiscal de la real Hacienda de la Habana, D. Vicente Vázquez Queipo en el examen del informe sobre el fomento de la población blanca etc. en la isla de Cuba* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Publicidad, 1847), 17. Goicuria is often spelled Goicouria, Goncouria, Goicoria, Goicouría. On the transatlantic revolutionary crucible of the 1860s, see Gregory Downs, *The Second American Revolution: The Civil War–Era Struggle over Cuba and the Rebirth of the American Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 53–93.

[69] *New York Herald* (29 Dec. 1854).

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collaborating with William Walker in Nicaragua, hoping to eventually turn his forces toward Cuba. In 1862, a different Mexican president, Benito Juárez, appointed Goicuria Mexican commissioner to Washington, DC, where Goicuria tried to sell Cozumel island for the Lincoln administration to settle freedmen in the event of an emancipation decree (the proceeds of such sale would go to repay a loan Goicuria had provided to the Mexican government).[70]

Ever on the coattails of international plots, Goicuria set to work in Brazil's Emigration Agency. Within a month, he arranged for the *Marmion* to convey 300 emigrants to Brazil, a task made easier by his decision to move the office to the USBM headquarters in Bowling Green. Months later, he sent the *North America* back to Rio with 136 "field hands."[71] With the northern winter, however, Goicuria's endeavors began to show some wear, in part because he lacked information required to accurately perform his tasks. In a confidential memo to Bocaiúva, he asked for land maps and the names of fazendas for sale, rates for daily wages, details about the availability of fish and oysters in Brazil as requested by potential emigrants, and a portrait of Pedro II and Teresa Cristina to grace his office walls. Notwithstanding his dearth of resources and even decorations, Goicuria continued to move large sums of money.

Goicuria contributed to Brazilian colonization more specifically by amassing a practical archive of useful referents to serve as models, which he shared with Bocaiúva.[72] Goicuria's collection of documents included a sample "Contrato de arrendamiento" stipulating sharecropping conditions in Cuban *ingenios* (Figure 7.3) and a sample contract and blank "Order to Import Workers" from the American Emigration Company

[70] William Scroggs, "William Walker's Designs on Cuba," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1914): 198–211; Downs, *Second American Revolution*, 100; Nicholas Guyatt, "'The Future Empire of our Freedmen': Republican Colonization Schemes in Texas and Mexico, 1861–1865," in *Civil War Wests: Testing the Limits of the United States*, ed. Adam Arenson and Andrew Graybill (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 99–100; *New York Times* (29 Jan. 1862); *The Working Farmer and United States Journal* 15 (1863): 189; *New Orleans Daily Crescent* (28 Apr. 1866); Matías Romero, *Memoria de Hacienda y crédito público* (México: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1870), 571.

[71] *Nashville Union and Dispatch* (21 Apr. 1867); *The South-Western* (24 Apr. 1867); FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21-pasta 5, Goicuria to Bocaiúva (23 May, 23 Oct. 1867, undated confidential).

[72] Sousa Dantas, *Relatório da Agricultura* (1868), 40; and annex Q: Ignácio da Cunha Galvão, *Relatório da Agencia Oficial de Colonização* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de João Ignácio Silva, 1868).

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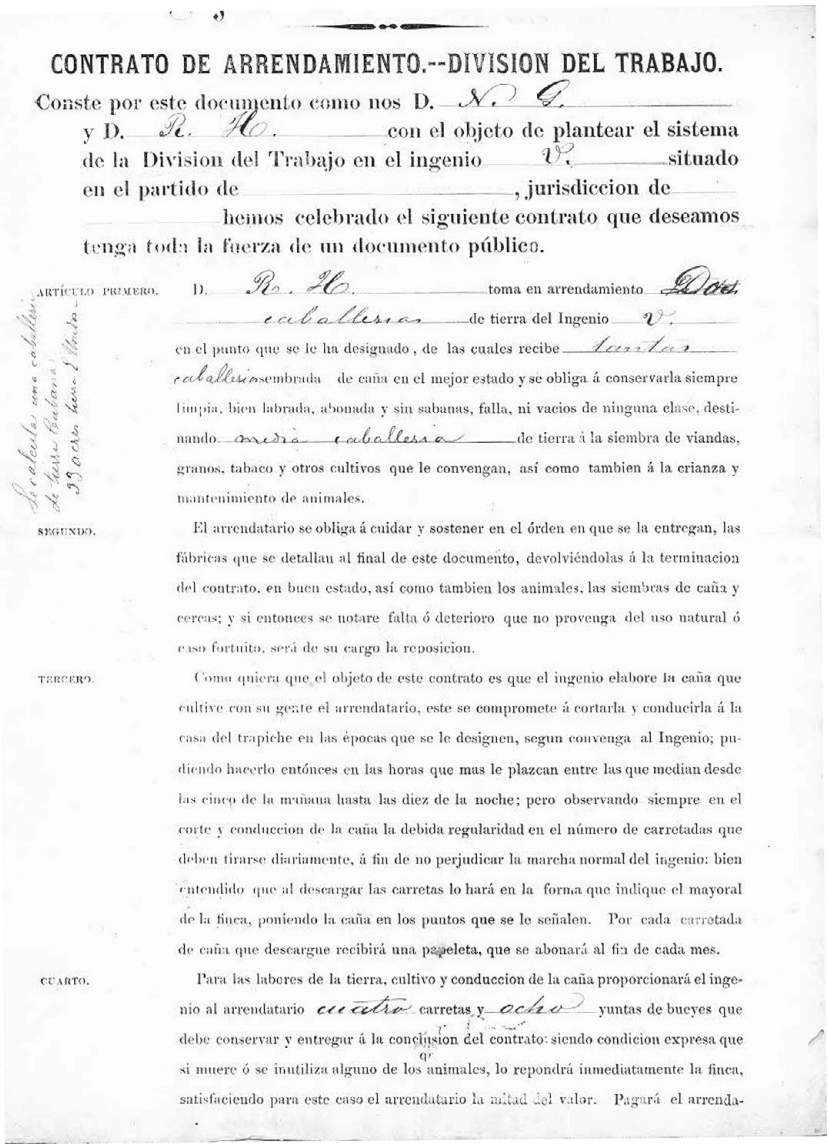

CONTRATO DE ARRENDAMIENTO.--DIVISION DEL TRABAJO.

Conste por este documento como nos D. N. G. y D. R. H. con el objeto de plantear el sistema de la Division del Trabajo en el ingenio V. situado en el partido de , jurisdiccion de hemos celebrado el siguiente contrato que deseamos tenga toda la fuerza de un documento público.

ARTÍCULO PRIMERO. D. R. H. toma en arrendamiento Dos. caballerias de tierra del Ingenio V. en el punto que se le ha designado, de las cuales recibe tantas caballerias sembrada de caña en el mejor estado y se obliga á conservarla siempre limpia, bien labrada, abonada y sin sabanas, falla, ni vacios de ninguna clase, destinando media caballeria de tierra á la siembra de viandas, granos, tabaco y otros cultivos que le convengan, así como tambien á la crianza y mantenimiento de animales.

SEGUNDO. El arrendatario se obliga á cuidar y sostener en el órden en que se la entregan, las fábricas que se detallan al final de este documento, devolviéndolas á la terminacion del contrato, en buen estado, así como tambien los animales, las siembras de caña y cereas; y si entonces se notare falta ó deterioro que no provenga del uso natural ó caso fortuito, será de su cargo la reposicion.

TERCERO. Como quiera que el objeto de este contrato es que el ingenio elabore la caña que cultive con su gente el arrendatario, este se compromete á cortarla y conducirla á la casa del trapiche en las épocas que se le designen, segun convenga al Ingenio; pudiendo hacerlo entónces en las horas que mas le plazcan entre las que median desde las cinco de la mañana hasta las diez de la noche; pero observando siempre en el corte y conduccion de la caña la debida regularidad en el número de carretadas que deben tirarse diariamente, á fin de no perjudicar la marcha normal del ingenio: bien entendido que al descargar las carretas lo hará en la forma que indique el mayoral de la finca, poniendo la caña en los puntos que se le señalen. Por cada carretada de caña que descargue recibirá una papeleta, que se abonará al fin de cada mes.

CUARTO. Para las labores de la tierra, cultivo y conduccion de la caña proporcionará el ingenio al arrendatario cuatro carretas y ocho yuntas de bueyes que debe conservar y entregar á la conclusion del contrato: siendo condicion expresa que si muere ó se inutiliza alguno de los animales, lo repondrá inmediatamente la finca, satisfaciendo para este caso el arrendatario la mitad del valor. Pagará el arrenda-

FIGURE 7.3 Useful exemplars: A model of a Cuban arrendamiento contract furnished by Goicuria
FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21-pasta 5. Image courtesy of CPDOC-FGV.

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(AEC), whose offices were located in no. 3 Bowling Green adjacent to the USBM's and therefore right along the path of Goicuria's business rounds. The AEC was a migrant-recruitment enterprise championed by secretary of state William Seward and supported by US consuls abroad following the Act to Encourage Immigration of 4 July 1864. As such, via Goicuria, it served as a model for the SII, which also probably collected the migrants discarded by the AEC. However, the Brazilian agency's problems coincided, too, with local campaigns against the AEC. Mayor and local rail entrepreneur Charles Godfrey Gunther accused it of importing strikebreakers and reducing European "redemptioners" to the status of Mexican peons. Subsequently, the withdrawal of federal support for the AEC in 1868 may have contributed to the Brazilian agency's declining performance.[73]

Goicuria's activities took a sharp turn for the worse when two of his organized shipments generated complaints and protracted litigation, which jeopardized not only the SII's reputation but the imperial government's as well. The first case involved the *Catherine Whiting*, which Goicuria chartered in New Orleans in late June 1867. Passengers and crew clashed on the way to Rio – a situation that Caymari attributed to sectional tensions. However, as soon as the vessel docked in Rio, some passengers lodged formal complaints about travel conditions with Galvão, who ordered a thorough examination of conditions aboard. The result was a 18:000$000 fine on the ship captain for violations of the 1858 Emigrant Transport Ordinance. Caymari paid bail at the Customs house, but he also began the long process of contesting the charges. Still unresolved in 1869, a Conselho opinion signed by 1857–1858 cabinet veterans Olinda and Souza Franco dismissed his case on a technicality – Caymari had missed a 10-day window to appeal the Conselho's decision.[74] In 1872, the inheritors of the late captain of the

[73] *New York Times* (19 Sept. 1864); US minister in France John Bigelow to Secretary of State William Seward (15 June 1865) in *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs Accompanying the Annual Message of the President to the First Session, Thirty-Ninth Congress* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1866), vol. 2, 326–327; Aristide R. Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 171–174; Adam McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 107–113; Brendan O'Malley, "Protecting the Stranger: The Origins of US Immigration Regulation in Nineteenth-Century New York" (PhD diss. CUNY, 2015), 188–195.

[74] The violations referred to food rations, the configuration of passenger areas (with ventilated sleeping quarters and lavatories divided by gender), and the adequacy of

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Catherine Whiting successfully reopened the case with the help of the US consul in Rio.

A second legal quagmire involved the *Circassian*, which Goicuria chartered from its owner Ernest Fiedler for an emigrant-transport trip from New Orleans. Three days after the chartering, Sousa Dantas signed Goicuria's letter of dismissal, but, unknowingly, the *Circassian* went ahead and purchased supplies at its station in Bremen, racked up $12,000-worth of repairs when it landed in New York, and in early December 1867 finally arrived in New Orleans, where Brazil's consul had not inscribed even one passenger for the trip.[75] The ship's captain waited for the time window prescribed in the contract drawn by Goicuria. When the time expired, the captain tried to charge demurrage fees. Brazil's consul refused to pay and announced that the Brazilian chargé in Washington, DC had ordered the *Circassian* withdrawn from any government contracts. Years-long appeals followed. In its 1873 decision on the matter, the Conselho's Empire section concluded that the Brazilian chargé's intervention had led to a misunderstanding and that the captain's claim could not exceed US$20,000. But then, surprisingly, the Conselho denied that the said contract had been authorized in the first place, attributing full liability to the parties who had signed. Goicuria's dismissal allowed the Brazilian government to plausibly deny its involvement in the *Circassian* affair. But the case dragged on when the captain's widow claimed damages, which eventually resulted in the publication of a damning report by her lawyer, the boisterous southern abolitionist and acrid anti-Catholic, Hinton Rowan Helper, which channeled the affair all the way to the congressional floor in 1884. Brazil's mishandling of colonization affairs had dire and lasting implications for its reputation in the United States.[76]

passenger manifests and contracts. Decree no. 2168 (1 May), *CLIB* (1858), vol. 2, 276–284; Caymari to Sousa Dantas (18 Nov., 20 Dec. 1867); Sousa Dantas to Caymari (9 Jan. 1868); Caymari to Agriculture minister Joaquim Antão Fernandes Leão (12 Aug. 1868); Parecer (21 Mar. 1869), in *O Conselho de Estado e a política externa do Império: Consultas da Seção dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 1875–1889* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Alexandre Gusmão, 2009), 377–382.

[75] FGV-CPDOC, QBccp1855.08.21-pasta 5, Goicuria to Bocaiúva (26 [Oct.] 1867).

[76] Hinton Rowan Helper, *Imperial Brazil as the Diplomatic Deceiver and Despoiler of an Unsuspecting Family of Straightforward and Confiding Democrats, who, in August, 1867, were so Rash and Unrepublican and Reprehensible as to Put Their Faith in Princes* (St. Louis, 1879); US Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Report:[to accompany the concurrent resolution.]*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1882,

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Indeed, Brazilians' excitement with US migrants gave way to unsalvageable disagreements over suspect business dealings in multiple directions. Ballard Dunn was accused of embezzling settlers and posing as a government official in Louisiana. In response, he accused Goicuria of overcharging for the 200 spots aboard the *Marmion*. Charles Nathan also came under attack for allegedly overcharging Dunn for a loan for land purchases initially offered as interest-free. Caught in his "mistake," Nathan charged the correct amount but then spread rumors about Dunn's speculations around the *Marmion*.[77] For both Dunn and Nathan, however, business continued. Nathan, in particular, ventured into new commercial opportunities with a contract to import 3,000 settlers from southern US ports. Even though logistical problems soon earned his scheme a "bad repute," three years later Nathan was in Portugal recruiting workers for plantations in Louisiana.[78] Even Eça de Queirós poked fun at his efforts in his sardonic monthly, *As farpas*.[79] Perhaps the most significant facet of his ongoing activities was that he continued to peddle new steam lines to Brazil and other parts of South America, showing how the SII inspired durable and consecutive rackets based on directed migrations.[80]

Violent dissensions also broke out among two of the most prominent SII board members. After deputies criticized Bocaiúva for importing "bad colonos" who could eventually "dominate" Brazilians, and exactly a day before Sousa Dantas dismissed Goicuria, editor William Scully described Goicuria as "unscrupulous," his "sole object being to gain a bounty" as a "man-catcher" sporting a conscience at the level of "his breeches' pocket." Scully used the opportunity to advocate for a line from Liverpool and for similar benefits to be offered to European settlers. Bocaiúva responded to Scully's "most insolent insults" by defending Goicuria's actions, including the extra per capita surcharges he was

Senate Report no. 246; *Congressional Record: Forty-Eight Congress, First Session* (27 Mar. 1884), vol. 15, pt. 3, 2322–2325.

[77] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 178 (29 July 1867).

[78] *New Orleans Crescent* (14 Mar. 1868); *New Orleans Republican* (29 Apr. 1868); *Gazette and Comet* (7 May 1868); Diogo Teixeira de Macedo, *Relatório do presidente da província RJ* (1869), 27.

[79] Eça de Queirós, *As farpas* (Dec. 1871) (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 74.

[80] Câmara dos Deputados (Portugal), *Primeiro inquérito parlamentar sobre a emigração portugueza* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1873), 496; Susana Serpa Silva, "Os Açores e o fenómeno da 'escravatura branca' por meados do século XIX," *XXI Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana* 21 (2014): 1–9; *New Orleans Republican* (10 Dec. 1873); *New Orleans Daily Democrat* (26 June, 16 Nov. 1877).

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authorized to apply. Not only was Goicuria mentioned in Cochin's study of abolition, Bocaiúva remarked, but he was the kind of gentleman who would never set his office on fire in order to collect insurance, as he insinuated Scully had done. The polemic continued on the pages of the *DRJ*, now owned by Caymari, and the *Correio Mercantil*, where Scully claimed Bocaiúva had "swapped his family name for that of any animal … to escape creditors" and routinely "begged for commissions from government."[81] Though arguably about colonization, this aggressive controversy disclosed alleged shams and swindles that only accentuated the overarching profit-seeking motive of its participants.

The USBM plied through the scandal, continuing operations until the expiration of company subsidies in 1875. In contrast, however, the Brazilian Agency in New York did close. Goicuria arrived in Rio in early 1868 and tagged along with Bocaiúva and Caymari as they schemed new speculations, including reselling privileges for trolley tracks to the suburbs.[82] But when rebellion broke out in Cuba in October, Goicuria left to organize an expeditionary force to join the rebels in the Ten Years' War. Rushing to the island, he was soon captured and executed by *garrote vil* in 1870. Back in Rio, Bocaiúva eulogized his friend and recognized his service – his form of acknowledgment that, with Goicuria's passing, the Brazilian colonization adventure in New York was also laid to rest.[83]

The SII and its New York agency embodied a multigenerational and politically inclusive experiment: a colonization company that interlocked variously and opportunisitcally with the Brazilian government, a powerful steamship company, and ongoing civil wars across the hemisphere and beyond. Yet, after Poles were displaced as ideal migrants, Brazilians' aspirations of banking on the stream of US southerners wishing to leave their country met one calamity after another. Nevertheless, as the hopes placed on Confederates vanished and, with them, the SII, the larger

[81] 4, 5 June, 5 July, 16 Aug., *ACD* (1867), vol. 2, 21; vol. 3, 53, 135–136; *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, nos. 16, 17 (23 Aug., 7 Sept. 1867); *Bossier Banner* (Bellevue, Louisiana) (24 Aug. 1867); *DRJ*, no. 219, 222 (24, 27 Aug. 1867); *Correio Mercantil*, no. 235 (26 Aug. 1867); Augustin Cochin, *L'abolition de l'esclavage*, vol 2 (Paris: Jacques Lecofre, 1861), 199–200.

[82] *DRJ*, no. 246 (21 Sept. 1867); *Publicador Maranhense*, no. 243 (Oct. 1867); *JC*, no. 324 (21 Nov. 1867); Decree no. 4133 (28 March 1868), no. 4322 (19 Jan.), no. 4383 (23 June), *CLIB* (1869), vol. 39, pt. II, 26–27, 315–320.

[83] *O Liberal do Pará*, no. 1, 129 (10 Jan. 1869, 9 June 1870); *O Cearense*, no. 276 (11 Dec. 1869); *A Reforma: Órgão Democrático*, no. 142 (28 June 1870).

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enterprise of colonization endured as its leading businessmen trained their sights on new opportunities in the future ahead. Indeed, Bocaiúva's experiences paved the way for an upward political trajectory that saw him eventually become Foreign minister in the Republican government that deposed the Brazilian Empire in 1889. The migration policies he espoused then, at the high point of the era of mass migrations, harkened back to the SII and his formative time in New York.

* * *

To be sure, despite the dissolution of the SII, migrants continued to arrive, propelled by fresh world crises, attracted by old Brazilian promises, and overseen by new government approaches to colonization. During the pro-Confederate vogue and the launch of the SII and the New York agency, Brazilian authorities learned how to better ensure access to services for desirable migrants and how to improve administrative oversight over settlement processes.

In the heat of the SII launch, minister Sousa Dantas approved a new Ordinance for State Colonies (1867) meant to guide land surveying and distribution of state-owned lands but also the administration and organized settlement of those lands by foreign colonos. This and other new regulations had a significant domino effect on colonization. Within the new framework, deputies discussed a bequest to grant lands for colonization to Pedro II's daughter, princess Isabel, and her husband, prince Gaston d'Orleans, count d'Eu, whom she had married in 1864. At the same time, Bocaiúva's friend and SII secretary Tavares Bastos took advantage of the new regulations to bring the government into an even more liberal colonization agenda. In the Chamber of Deputies, he pushed a raft of bills dealing with civil marriage, open ports in colonies, land grants for colonization, work contract and naturalization reforms, and the prohibition of slavery in cities with over 20,000 inhabitants within a decade. For the moment, most of these fell by the wayside, especially the proposal on civil marriage, which was destroyed by a Conselho decision on the impossibility of Protest-Catholic marriages.[84] Still, those very same ideas became the ideological pillars of the SII. Indeed, the SII's only surviving report was accompanied by Tavares Bastos's "Memória sobre

[84] *ACD* (1867), vol. 2, 19–23, vol. 3, 283; vol. 4, 53–62; Decree no. 3784 (19 Jan.), *CLIB* (1867), vol. 1, 31–40; Circular (20 July), vol. 2, 229–233.

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a imigração" in 1867, which served as a statement of reformist principles for the new company.

Tavares Bastos drew much of his inspiration from an award-winning treatise on the history of nineteenth-century migrations by Jules Duval, and in doing so reinforced not only the crossed gazes between Brazil and Algeria as parallel colonization horizons, but their connections. As the Fourierist editor of *L'écho d'Oran*, Duval was also the author of influential works on French colonial policy and one of many Saint-simonians invested in Algerian colonization who had previously looked toward Brazil. In 1867, seeing Brazil's exhibits at the International Exposition in Paris, he concluded that the Blumenau colony would help Brazil "take its place among the choir of countries in full march toward civilization."[85]

Coincidentally, at that time too, Brazil's first consul in Algiers, François Ravan (appointed at the tail end of Olinda's administration in 1858), and his vice-consul in Oran, Victor Masurel (appointed in 1861), put in motion a plan that would directly connect Brazil and Algeria.[86] Beginning in 1867, these diplomats facilitated the arrival of yet another cohort of troubled expatriates to Brazil, when a group of *colons* from Oran mulled emigrating after a year of periodic seismic activity and prolonged drought. Within a year, five Algerian settlers left for Rio as prospectors to procure government favors. The Agriculture minister quickly made funds available to Paraná's provincial president in order to "offer all the possible benefits to establish a great current of immigrants of proven behavior and inclined to work."[87] Thanks to such subsidies, three of the prospectors purchased land in the outskirts of Curitiba and sent for their fellow colons back in Algeria. In February 1869, about 90 German and French settlers arrived in Antonina, Paraná, from Algeria to hopeful expectations that they would rally French markets for

[85] Émile Cardon, "Les colonies du Brésil," *Révue du Monde Coloniale* 5 (1861): 209–213 ; Jules Duval, *Histoire de l'émigration européenne, asiatique et africaine au XIX e siècle: Ses causes, ses caractères, ses effets*, vol. 2 (Paris: Guillaumin et C^ie^, 1861), 264–272, and "Exposition Universelle: Le Brésil,"*Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires* (12 Sept. 1867); Julio [Jules] Duval, "O Brazil na Exposição Universal," *O Ypiranga*, nos. 81, 84 (6, 9 Nov. 1867); *The Empire of Brazil at the Paris International Exhibition of 1867* (Rio de Janeiro: E. & H. Laemmert, 1867).

[86] Barão de Cotegipe, *Relatório dos Negócios Estrangeiros* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de E. & H. Laemmert, 1870), annex 2, 35; AHI-RCB-Marseilles, 255/2/14; RCB-Marseilles/Algiers, 680/3,l.6/15; RCB-Marseilles/Algiers, 250/2/4; *Diário de Pernambuco*, nos. 19, 179, 88, 36 (23 Jan., 7 Aug. 1867, 17 Apr. 1868, 16 Feb. 1869).

[87] *Correio Mercantil*, no. 220 (10 Aug. 1868).

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Brazilian coffee.[88] The vice-consul at Oran cautioned against replicating this drive, suggesting it was better to wait due to "the hardships endured by the Algerians after several years of locust invasions, bad harvests ... famine, [and] bad administration." But Brazilian officials were optimistic that their new regulations would sort out any complications.[89]

The Ordinance for State Colonies in fact made it easy for authorities to furnish the Algerians with tools, ready-made houses, food rations, and demarcated lands paid for in installments. But the colons quickly learned to leverage such good will to their advantage and profit. As they prepared to cultivate wheat and vines, their consul requested seeds from the imperial government. Then, one of the initial prospectors asked for more funds to finish his house, while the other two demanded – and obtained – ox-driven plows. The colons also pleaded for lands for their wives, with one even pretending he had separated from his. After the provincial president called out this "trick to obtain undue benefits," the government withheld recognition of the Algerian settlement as an official colony as per the 1867 ordinance.[90] Despite the negative letters sent by one of the prospectors to French newspapers, still in 1874 other Algerian colons arrived from Oran and Tlemcen, including a entire French family, and Spanish workers originally from Almería.[91] By then, however, the initial colons had moved elsewhere. As with the Poles, dissipating hopes of an Algerian migration put in evidence that regulatory frameworks in themselves fell short of sustaining robust emigrant sweeps. Without a company to incite and buttress those migrations, and excite authorities to please them, migrants expelled from troubled contexts could hardly secure a footing in Brazil.

The Algerian episode bookended a series of potentially profitable migration drives propelled by war-torn and crisis-ridden contexts from around the world. Polish, US, and Algerian arrivals, and even a

[88] AN, Agricultura-IA^{6}43, "List of Emigrants from Marseilles to Antonina (Paraná) Aboard 3-Mast French Vessel *Polymnie*," (30 Nov. 1868); *DRJ*, no. 23 (23 Jan. 1869); *JC*, no. 217 (6 Aug. 1869).

[89] AN, GIFI-5F-361, vice-consul at Oran Victor Masurel to consul at Marseilles Costa Saraiva (16 Dec. 1868).

[90] *Dezenove de Dezembro*, no. 1037 (16 Oct. 1869); AN, IA^{6}43, Agriculture minister to provincial president of Paraná (28 Aug. 1871); *Relatório do presidente da província PR* (1869), 13–15; Ignácio da Cunha Galvão, *Relatório da Agência Official de Colonisação: Anno de 1869* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de João Ignácio da Silva, 1870), 19.

[91] AN, IA^{6}43, "List of Emigrants from Marseilles to Rio Aboard French Steamer *Piccardie*" (29 Apr. 1874); "List of Emigrants from Marseilles to Rio Aboard *La France*" (15 June 1874).

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revolutionary and savvy Cuban diaspora, signaled an amplified global profile for Brazilian colonization as much as a challenging transnational crossroads. Regional and national conflagrations bifurcated diplomatic channels, business endeavors, reformist efforts, professional aspirations, lives, and friendships. This time of turmoil also generated countless opportunities to enact and profit from directed migrations and colonization schemes. But these opportunities cut many different ways. Refugees and expatriates saw Brazilian colonization as a path both to political survival and transactional gains. Once their schemes were on the move, intellectuals, politicians, and planters across the Brazilian Empire saw these displaced outcasts – the dregs of the era's armed conflicts and imperial conquests – as beacons of agrarian and cultural improvement. War expatriated people, to be sure. It also activated governmental rationales, company-making practices, and agile improvisations all centered on the profit-bearing potential of displacement.

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8

Coolies and Scandals

Skullduggery, Bankruptcy, and the Coolie Question after the Free Womb Law

If the slave trade ban of 1850 gave rise to the expectation that foreign colonos would replace the dwindling ranks of the enslaved, a new gradual abolition law in 1871 put an expiration date on the horizon that lent an unprecedented urgency to planters forecasting a dearth of labor. In this context, what could the Brazilian government do to fix and perfect the business of migration? And what remained beyond its capacity to stoke and oversee colonization efforts?

The decade that followed the 1871 Free Womb law threw these questions into sharp relief. As Pedro II did his victory lap around the United States, Europe, and northern Africa following the Triple Alliance War, princess regent Isabel set the tone for a muscular government hold over colonization. Processing the proposals streaming in since before her Regency, the princess regent captained the Conselho de Estado as their numbers peaked. From 1870 to 1875, a minimum of 19 colonization projects came before the Conselho, 8 of which from companies, while the rest came from individuals or commercial partnerships. Together, these proposals represented an expected net importation of 298,200 colonos over the following decade that amounted to a 3 percent increase in the country's population in 1872 and that would have more than doubled the population of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's main port. Stringent government contracts over these proposals indicated the consolidation of hard-won lessons learned by Brazilian authorities from prior efforts and celebrated by new promotional tracts on Brazilian colonization. Indeed, the princess regent and the Conselho closely oversaw contracts,

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granting extensions when necessary and canceling agreements for noncompliance lest past colonization scandals repeated themselves.[1]

Through their efforts, the government consolidated its ability to regulate increasing migration throughout the 1870s, in no small part aided by a wartime atmosphere that produced a fad for military colonies.[2] In peacetime, many of these settlements quickly translated to "national colonies" and *colonias de libertos*. By 1878, *O Cruzeiro* counted a total of 43 colonies across the Brazilian Empire, including state-led and private ones receiving government subventions. Their combined population of 96,760 colonos absorbed over 2,000 contos in imported goods and produced over 3,000 contos in exports.[3]

Health and environmental crises further bolstered government capacity-building. The yellow fever epidemic of 1870–1871 compelled the Empire ministry to set up a special commission to board incoming migrants onto the Pedro II railway and catapult them to Juiz de Fora, where coffee grandees like the barão do Rio Bonito offered to cover additional costs.[4] Similarly, a brutal drought in the northeastern province of Ceará between 1876 and 1878 obligated the Empire ministry to transfer thousands of climate refugees from the northeast. Many of these *colonos da seca* (drought colonos) settled permanently in Rio, while others beseeched the imperial government to subsidize their return once the drought receded.[5]

[1] AN, GIFI-4B-13, vol. II includes the 40 contracts or extension provisions from Nov. 1870–July 1876 used for these calculations. The population of the Brazilian Empire was estimated at 1,332,274 in the *Recenseamento do Brazil em 1872*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de Leuzinger e Filhos, 1872); Jacaré Assu, *Brazilian Colonization, from an European Point of View* (London: E. Stanford, 1873).

[2] AHEx, Relação das Colônias Militares, M13,E-A,P4, cx. 1, pac. 1–2, 6. Many of these military colonies were established in the late 1850s and rarely numbered above a couple hundred people. By the 1870s, complaints of understaffing and budget shortages abounded.

[3] *O Cruzeiro*, no. 192 (12 July 1878).

[4] AN, Diversos-cód. 552, "Instruções . . . para regimen. da comissão encarregada do desembarque e transporte dos colonos ou emigrantes" (23 Jan. 1873); barão do Rio Bonito to Jerônimo José de Mesquita (20 Aug. 1875); "Nota das quantias que o barão do Rio Bonito recebeo do Ex^{mo} Sr. barão de Mesquita."

[5] Paulo César Gonçalves, *Migração e mão de obra: Retirantes cearenses na economia cafeeira do centro-sul (1877–1901)* (São Paulo: Humanitas, 2006); and "O mandacaru não floresceu: A ciência positivista a serviço do combate à seca de 1877–1879," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 25, no. 2 (2018): 515–539; María Verónica Secreto, "A seca de 1877–1879 no Império do Brasil: Dos ensinamentos do senador Pompeu aos de André Rebouças: trabalhadores e mercado," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 27, no. 1 (2020): 33–51.

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These emergency feats in population transport reflected significant gains in logistical capacity-building within the state apparatus, underscored by the Brazilian Empire's first-ever census in 1872 and later by the attendance of a Brazilian representative to the ninth International Statistical Congress of 1876 in Budapest. By embracing demographic data-gathering, authorities also fine-tuned their ability to account for migratory patterns, as seen most immediately by the ever extensive data collection on the 10,252 migrant entries recorded in Rio by 1876. For every migrant incomer, authorities could now systematically ascertain family composition, number of families and function, name, age, gender, civil status, and professional background for each member, nationality, vessel and port of provenance, religion, arrival date, colony of destination, plus general observations.[6] The state's embrace of statistics compounded the lessons learned by the Brazilian statesmen from their recurrent interactions with colonization companies to prop up a booming migrant landscape.

Yet one topic in particular cast a pall over these achievements: Chinese immigration. Journalists, empresarios, planters, and literati acrimoniously battled out whether coolies could and should replace the enslaved after 1871. A raw and blatant racism pervaded these debates.[7] Even Chinese colonization enthusiasts commented on the inadequacy of Asian workers for settlement projects, drinking from a well of sources including news about Chinese migrations elsewhere, Positivist propaganda, and emergent notions of "race" as a civilizational and criminal marker. Regardless of such prejudices, however, Chinese migrants were already showing up in Brazilian port cities. The coolie trade to Cuba, then at its height, was largely responsible for bringing Chinese migrations back into public debate. For some years, ships bound for Havana with workers from the Celestial Empire delivered curious stories for Brazilian journalists. In 1866, when the Lubeck-based galleon *Emma e Mathilde* shipwrecked off the coast of Pernambuco, 55 Chinese individuals were

[6] AN, GIFI-5F-358, Francisco de Varnhagen to Empire minister Cunha Figueiredo (31 May 1876); Agricultura-IA^{6}129, "Registro de Colonos" (1876). On the Congress and its impact, see Mara Loveman, *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 87–99.

[7] Robert Conrad, "The Planter Class and the Debate over Chinese Immigration to Brazil, 1850–1893," *International Migration Review* 9, no. 1 (1975): 41–55; Rogério Dezem, *Matizes do "amarelo": A gênese dos discursos sobre os orientais no Brasil (1878–1908)* (São Paulo: Associação Editorial Humanitas, 2005); Ana Paulina Lee, *Mandarin Brazil: Race, Representation, and Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018).

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rescued by a nearby steamship. In mid-1867, at least three ships called at Rio on their way to Havana with a total of 1,018 Chinese colonos, while a few others stopped en route to Macao with returnees.[8]

Conditions were not inviting for Chinese subjects to settle in Brazil, where Sinophobia roamed unchecked. But, contending with and often surmounting racist blowback, a bourgeoning entrepreneurial drive to bring Chinese coolies unfolded consistently throughout the decade, followed by a separate experiment with Indian workers. Emerging as a novel conceit by the hand of Quintino Bocaiúva and others, "coolie labor" inspired yet another company drive, this time bankrolled by powerful merchants in Rio. Their enterprise obtained support from Liberal ministers and even from coffee planters who sought to employ Chinese workers under a coercive system analogous to slavery.

Vociferous racist protestations accompanied this emergent Chinese colonization campaign. But bigoted, xenophobic rants paled in comparison to the weight of business factors in determining the feasibility of coolie importation schemes and the ultimate outcome of plans to implant Chinese labor in Brazilian society. Indeed, a host of other variables, many of them business-related, drove the din of Brazilian elites' racist banter and also eventually drowned it out. Competition for government contracts among newspapers, colonization empresarios' efforts to secure a Sino-Brazilian treaty, the 1873 financial crisis, and the tenuous hold of cabinets over public respect and, indeed, offices all shaped the coolie question in more profound ways than the superficial jingoism of its detractors. Ultimately, in the face of international, domestic, and local adversities, including the rise of a new planter lobby rallying behind rural credit as its root concern, the campaign for coolie labor wore itself out as its advocates waited in vain for Brazilian diplomatic inroads in China.

RACIALIST CONSENSUS AND THE LIMITS OF DEBATE

Back in the newsroom after his adventure as a colonization agent in New York, Bocaiúva closely followed episodes involving Chinese sojourners. During his absence, the *DRJ* had already printed a piece by Maurice Irisson from *Paris-Magazine* on "The Family in China," opening the way for a reconsideration of the "Chinese question" among Brazilian readers. After his stay in New York, where he came across the Chinese

[8] *DRJ*, nos. 189, 169 (9 Aug. 1866, 5 July 1867).

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domestic servants kept by Cuban friends such as the Moras and immersed himself in news about the Chinese workers completing the Transcontinental Railroad, Bocaiúva possessed an arsenal of ideas about the uses of coolies. Further inspired by a long exposé by Jules Duval on Chinese contract labor, Bocaiúva marked his return to public life in Rio with *A crise da lavoura* (1868), a sprite opuscule championing the adoption of coolie labor in Brazil.[9]

A crise da lavoura extolled coolies' productivity while repeating commonplace prejudices about their behaviors, including their alleged penchant for gambling, suicide, and focusing excessively on their salaries, not to mention their resistance to assimilation, which according to him would benefit Brazil. Yet the catalog of contexts flaunting growth in exports thanks to Chinese or Indian labor seemed endless: Guiana, Perú, Cuba, Trinidad, California, Réunion, plus Australia, Java, Borneo, Manila, and Cochinchina. The math spoke for itself. Organizing "a commercial company founded on the basis of official aid," offering a "prize" of 40$000 for every coolie brought to Brazil, and instituting seven-year contracts capped at 1:183$500 per colono would yield exports totaling 160$000 in taxation revenue, four times the value of the government's initial investment.

Meaningfully, Bocaiúva dissected colonization as a "doubly complex question" pertaining to, on the one hand, the old trope of "peopling [Brazil's] immense, uninhabited territory" and, on the other hand, "furnishing arms for an agriculture threatened with [the] profound and inevitable revolution [of abolition]." Bocaiúva thus bifurcated emigration and colonization by differentiating between wealthy incomers –"the intelligent force that creates and directs" – and colonos –"the material force that works and produces," a distinction also articulated by French political economist and Wakefield enthusiast Nicolas Villiaumé. These contrasting definitions appeased conservatives' preference for spontaneous migrations that would increasingly feed the business of passenger travel and eventually replace government-subsidized colonization drives.[10]

[9] *DRJ*, no. 78 (31 Mar. 1867); Lisandro Pérez, *Sugar, Cigars, and Revolution: The Making of Cuban New York* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), 165–166.

[10] Quintino Bocaiúva, "A crise da lavoura" [1868] in *Idéias políticas de Quintino Bocaiúva*, vol. 1, ed. Eduardo Silva (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1986), 239–262; Nicolas Villiaumé, *Nouveau traite d'économie politique*, vol. 2 (Paris: Guillaumin, 1857), 64–78; and "La colonistion et l'émigration," *Journal des économistes* 15, no. 42 (July 1869): 122–137; Alain Clément, "French Economic Liberalism and the Colonial Issue at the Beginning of the Second Colonial Empire (1830–1870)," *History of Economic Ideas* 21, no. 1 (2013): 47–75.

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A crise da lavoura instigated a strong response in the press. Bolstering Bocaiuva's tract, the *DRJ* translated an encyclopedic extract on coolies from Duval's *Histoire de l'émigration*. Later, the newspaper sought to dispel any misunderstandings with a front-page article in English titled "What the Word Coolie Means." Chinese in California, the piece claimed, were "emigrants . . . who have voluntarily left the shores of the Celestial Empire, just as Irishmen have abandoned their mud cabins . . . to seek a wider field and a higher scale of remuneration in the teeming West."[11] In contrast, the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* referred to coolies as "a species of temporary slavery" that distracted from seeking an immigration that took its destinations as "new homes, and aim[ed] at proprietorship and independence." According to William Scully, Brazilians should enable "sugar-making to be profitably carried on by farmers without slaves, without coolies, and optionally with hired labor," definitely with new machinery.[12]

Bocaiúva's tract also ignited debates in improvement circles. The IIFA received numerous copies, which attendees to its August 1868 meeting quickly snatched up. Among those present were the emperor himself, as well as scions like Nicolau Antonio Nogueira Valle da Gama, and public officials with colonization track records such as Ignácio da Cunha Galvão (see Chapters 5 and 7) and Bernardo Nascentes de Azambuja (see Chapter 6).[13] Two years later, the SAIN's colonization section, headed by Galvão, presented a report on Chinese colonos that reiterated Bocaiúva's dichotomy between "supplying workers for agriculture" and "peopling [Brazilian] lands." The report concluded that temporary reliance on Chinese workers would prepare Brazil for more permanent settlement schemes with European colonos.[14]

Dr. Nicolau Moreira, who attended both the IIFA and SAIN meetings, balked at the report's support for coolie schemes. As *AIN* editor and director of the SAIN's agriculture section, Moreira spoke after Galvão's delivery. He attacked Bocaiúva's ideas with a cannonade of sources, from Buffon to Malthus to Jules Duval. "Should a nation," asked the doctor,

[11] *DRJ*, nos. 219, 236, 243, 246, 250, 252, 256, 260, 264, 110 (11, 29 Aug., 5, 8, 13, 15, 19, 23, 27 Sept. 1869; 22 Apr. 1870).

[12] *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, no. 13 (6 July 1870).

[13] "Acta da 55ª sessão" (20 Aug. 1868), *Revista Agrícola do Imperial Instituto Fluminense de Agricultura* 7, no. 2 (June 1876): lxxxvi–lxxxix.

[14] "Parecer da secção de colonisação e estatística sobre a questão 'se convirá ao Brasil a importação de colonos chins,'" *AIN* 8 (Aug. 1870): 318–327; Nicolau Moreira, "Discurso," and Júlio Parigot, "Discurso," *AIN* 9 (Sept. 1870): 374–404.

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"indifferently receive in its bosom a people whose crossing with its aborigines would result in a defective product?" Moreira relied on the incipient language of racial theory and foregrounded moral sanitarianism by surveying the ostensible deficiencies of Chinese and Indian peoples. The former, he claimed, would not offer "a proper immigration, but an artificial and systematic barbarity," as they were "a people among whom man is a beast of burden," and whose "individuals poison themselves daily with opium." ... "The race," he continued, "languished because of the insufficient nutrition of rice" and its "cult of idols." With Indians, in turn, he suggested that "assassinations, thefts, arson, attempts against modesty [became] quotidian" in countries welcoming their immigration, not to mention the stalling populations and drops in exports in places that had implanted coolie labor in the 1860s, such as Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion and French Guiana.

Moreira's racist jeremiad consolidated the distinction between colonization and (e/im)migration first discussed publicly during the Confederados expeditions. It also firmly situated migratory issues within the realm of "applied sciences," particularly ethnological anthropology. Most importantly, while Moreira and Bocaiúva profoundly disagreed on the adequacy of coolie labor for Brazil, they both agreed on the general outline of colonization as a policy, a scientific pursuit, and a field of historical debate. Their shared parameters on the value and necessity of colonization allowed for the two to spar amicably at the end of 1870.[15] For them, race provided a new lens for talking about colonization that did not fundamentally alter underlying colonization dynamics. If anything, in fact, these discursive transformations brought new interest to the business of migrations.

THE ASIAN WORKERS IMPORT ASSOCIATION (SITA) AND THE COOLIE HONEYPOT AFFAIR

Expectation tempered the tenor of the gentlemanly controversy unfolding over coolie labor in late 1870. Even though Moreira bordered on insult in calling Bocaiúva a "fervent apologist of Indiatic colonization," both men showed restraint while awaiting the outcome of a scandal regarding a 10-year permit to import workers from Asia. The permit had been secured by José da Costa Lima Viana and João Antônio de Miranda e Silva, who

[15] "Colonisação asiática: Polémica entre o Sr. Quintino Bocayúva e o Dr. Nicoláo Moreira," *AIN* 10 (Oct. 1870): 422–437.

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then organized the Sociedade Importadora de Trabalhadores Asiáticos (Asian Workers Import Association, hereafter SITA). The contract, drawn by colonization secretary Galvão, put firm limitations in place, including the requirement that 90 percent of each shipment be field hands and that none evince "weak complexion" or opium addiction. Prior colonization statutes applied in full force, including the 1837 contract law and the 1858 Emigrant Transport Ordinance. Of particular interest, however, was that Agriculture minister Teodoro Machado Freire Pereira da Silva initially opposed authorizing the proposal but changed his mind when negotiations between the empresarios and the director of the state-owned Dom Pedro II Railroad resulted in an unofficial request for 500 Chinese laborers for rail construction.[16]

The contract elicited a swift rebuke. *A Reforma*, the main newspaper of centrist Liberals founded in 1869 by Zacarias de Góis, Nabuco de Araújo, Teófilo Ottoni, and others, raised serious concerns about the price the government had committed to pay: £60 for each Chinese worker signed on to an eight-year contract, £50 for five years. While the paper refrained from accusing the "citizens who signed the contract, being as they are in their full right to seek all possible advantages from their business," it reserved special condemnation for the director of the Dom Pedro II Railroad and for the Agriculture ministry not only due to the exorbitant costs of the scheme but because of an inexcusable and questionable lapse in the chain of command.

After weeks of concerned coverage, Conservative deputy for São Paulo Antonio Prado called fraud in the Chamber. Questioning why the contract with Lima Viana and Miranda e Silva had proceeded without legislative approval, he indicted the government-appointed director of the Pedro II railway, Mariano Procópio Ferreira Lage, for signing a contract without the approval of his superior. But Procópio deflected his responsibility by blaming the company's secretary, Augusto de Castro, for carelessness, an accusation that quickly compelled the secretary's resignation. Kicking up the dirt thrown on him, however, the day after Prado's damning speech, secretary Castro issued a veiled threat, calling attention to the "ease with which, in an opportune moment, with the documents I have at hand, I could shut down the rumors [Mr. Mariano] has been

[16] Decree no. 4549 (9 July), *CLIB* (1870), vol. 33, pt. II, 382–387; *Diário de Pernambuco*, no. 179 (8 Aug. 1871); Cândido Borges Monteiro, *Relatório da Agricultura* (1871), 20–23.

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whispering against me with the sole purpose of covering his own responsibility."

Meanwhile, the Agriculture minister, a Conservative who had just traded Rio's provincial presidency for a cabinet position, instilled calm by clarifying that the initial contract was temporary, although, according to *A Reforma*, the long-term contract had been finalized with paid duties to the Treasury. A series of exchanges between Procópio and minister da Silva – probably leaked by Castro – laid bare that the former knew he needed ministerial authorization, which the latter never conclusively granted. The "coolie honeypot" (*a melgueira dos coolies*), as the press nicknamed the affair, raised "grave concerns" over a contract "hurtful to public coffers" and conducted under obscure circumstances.[17]

The episode inserted coolies and companies into the debates over the Free Womb bill of 12 May 1871, not on account of labor replacement conceits but in relation to questions pertaining to company profiteering. The questions around potential unlawful gains could be politically exploited, especially as lines of fracture deepened even within parties. The "dissidents of the conservative party," as the likes of Prado were dubbed, pounced on the coolie honeypot affair, aligning against other conservatives.[18] The new Liberals involved in *A Reforma* went even further, weaponizing the affair to discredit the cabinet responsible for the Free Womb bill. The suggestion that Agriculture minister Teodoro da Silva was a swindler grew stronger with a report that, at around this time, a mail carrier for the Foreign ministry had approached an applicant for a lucrative mining privilege and had formalized a government contract without any express authorization from da Silva. When the transaction came to light, the carrier was fired from his post, but no official inquiry followed.

With these allegations in the air, the coolie honeypot affair emboldened the opposition. Senator Zacarias requested copies of the official contract, an act that in itself constituted an indictment of the railway director and his secretary. Pressed by newspapers, particularly on the fact that "the public would profit much" with said contract, a newly appointed Agriculture minister was forced to address the issue in his yearly report. Meanwhile, SITA's Lima Viana and Miranda e Silva stood their ground.

[17] *A Reforma*, nos. 163, 165, 176 (21, 23 July, 5 Aug. 1871); *ACD* (1871), vol. 4, 4 Aug., 47–52; *JC*, no. 215 (5 Aug. 1871); *Almanak administrativo, mercantil e industrial* (Rio de Janeiro: E. & H. Laemmert, 1871), 313–314.

[18] *JC*, no. 210 (31 July 1871).

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They asserted that the Agriculture minister's allegations that he had not authorized their contract with the Pedro II railway could not revert the rights they had legally acquired. When Procópio finally broke his silence, he claimed he was hurried to sign a contract without reading it. Sousa Dantas, the conservative senator from Bahia who had welcomed Confederados and was now known as barão de Cotegipe, defended him on the floor, summoning a statement in which Procópio's secretary admitted making a mistake in transcribing the contract. Still, according to Zacarias, the empresarios were liable for the serious criminal offense of swindling government to "build up their own fortune," as they had unremorsefully publicized their contract in order to gather shareholders.[19] Colonization companies and their quest for profit became the ideal moving target in a tense political moment.

In September, the Free Womb bill carried forth with 98 favorable votes in both chambers combined and a minority of 45 deputies and 7 senators voting against it. Afterwards, the coolie question receded from public view, though with a strong measure of backing from Ignácio da Cunha Galvão at the colonization secretariat. At the end of the coolie honeypot affair, Galvão publicly asserted that it was not the time to "submit to discussion whether it is convenient to introduce Asian workers" and asked "adversaries" of Chinese labor to "resign themselves ... to this point of view: CHINESE WANTED." Using information from Cuba, Galvão demonstrated that neither the empresarios nor Procópio had sought self-enrichment. The costs stipulated in the contract – £50–60 per Chinese worker, then equivalent to US$236–283 – were only slightly higher than the cost of importing coolies to Cuba, which averaged $225 per head. Moreover, contracts were sold at US$374 in Havana, landing importers a profit margin of US$149. This amount corresponded to the many capital inputs necessary for long-haul operations. With every contract under his purview, Galvão said, he paid close attention "to the sources of profits for contractors, and far from *impeding* them," he sought "to shape the clauses so that they *can* obtain them." Otherwise, contracting parties would avail themselves of trickery (*alicantinas*) to reap higher profits. Lima Viana and Miranda e Silva took advantage of this public clearance to secure an extension in 1871 of the two-year window

[19] *A Reforma*, nos. 166, 168, 170 (25, 27, 29 July 1871).

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for the first Chinese workers to arrive and asked for the same in 1872 and 1874.[20]

The coolie honeypot affair interrupted ongoing controversies regarding the desirability of coolie labor to Brazil and for a time risked derailing the very possibility of Chinese colonization. Accusations that hinged on the profiteering behind coolie labor contracts showed that the profit motive was a guiding principle of this emergent trade and also one of its biggest liabilities in the public eye. Yet Galvão's support, and his recourse to information probably obtained through diplomatic channels, gave a necessary lift to the future of privately led colonization by opening up the coolie market in the wake of the Free Womb Law.

DOWN TO BUSINESS

What the SITA empresarios lost in public confidence during the honeypot scandal, they made up for in new associates. They brought in George Nathan, Confederate Charles Nathan's brother (see Chapter 7). And they started a partnership with Antonio Martins Lage and Robert Clinton Wright, a promising lineup considering their prior entanglements in migration matters. Lage had imported Azoreans and mainland Portuguese settlers for the Mucury Company in 1857 and a year later attempted to seek colonos in Germany. Wright, who was Lage's long-standing business associate, headed the prominent Rio commission house Maxwell, Wright & Co. and had bankrolled the travels of James Fletcher, one of the authors of *Brazil and the Brazilians*.[21]

Despite its all-star lineup, the SITA met resistance at every turn. With particular force, emigration bans compelled it to request periodic deferrals. Moreover, as the coolie trade reached fever pitch, nations involved in it enacted competing regulations to stall or at least control the exit of Chinese migrants. Macau, from where the SITA expected to obtain its Chinese workers, had closed down the coolie trade in the wake of reported abuses and high death rates at sea. In the worst of cases, such abuses led to mutinies that later required a thorny diplomacy. The case of the *Nouvelle Penelope* was exemplary: after wresting control of the vessel

[20] Ignácio da Cunha Galvão, *Relatório da Agência Official de Colonisação* (1871), annex D of *Relatório da Agricultura* (1872); Decree no. 4702 (18 Mar. 1871), no. 5099 (2 Oct. 1872), no. 5881 (11 Nov. 1874), no. 7898 (15 Nov. 1880), *CLIB* (1871), vol. 34, pt. II, 149; (1872), vol. 35, pt. II, 855; (1874) vol. 37, pt. 2, 1168; (1880), vol. 43, pt. II, 794.

[21] *JC*, nos. 201 (22 July 1874); Jarnagin, *Confluence*, 111–137.

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in 1870, the 360 coolies headed for Perú killed all but five crewmen, who they obligated to sail back to Canton. The French consul in China then followed the ringleaders and their collaborators all the way to Macau, where the colony's Portuguese governor effectively surrendered them to Chinese authorities. The prisoners were then handed to the French consul for execution by beheading.[22]

Together with growing denunciations of atrocities, such disregard for due process and for the need for treaties to mediate jurisdictional conflicts informed bourgeoning efforts to restrain abuses in the Macau market. After trying to regulate the *trata dos chins* ("Chinese trade") in 1872, the Portuguese government launched a massive inquiry whose results came to light in 1874 and led directly to a clampdown on coolie transport networks.[23] The Chinese government launched its own inquiry on the abuses of the Cuban *trata amarilla* ("yellow trade"). Its findings, published in French and English in 1876, led to a Chinese ban on coolie emigration.[24]

Cautious but undaunted by these diminishing prospects, the SITA expended 100 contos in addition to the 10 contos it had deposited as a guarantee at the National Treasury to send representatives to San Francisco to negotiate with established shipping firms involved in the coolie trade. The same envoys later went on to China, where the French consul at Canton, baron Gilbert-Gabriel de Trenqualye, offered to line up 30,000 migrant workers pending permission from his government.

To succeed in these efforts, SITA also had to defuse the impassioned opposition aginst Asian migrants in Brazil. In 1875, João Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, future baron of Paranapiacaba, presented a report on colonization commissioned by the Agriculture ministry. With a fancy for French discourses on race and civilization – from Michel Chevalier's "Latin races" to Leroy-Beaulieu's moralizing science in *De la colonization chez les peuples modernes* – Menezes e Sousa relegated Indian and Chinese workers to the last pages of his report, referring to their presence

[22] *O Oriente*, nos. 2, 8, 9, 23 (25 Jan., 7, 14 Mar., 20 June 1872).

[23] *Regulamento da emigração chineza pelo porto de Macau approvado em portaria nº 34 de 28 de maio de 1872* (Macau: Typographia Mercantil, 1872); João de Andrade Corvo, *Relatório e documentos sobre a abolição da emigração de chinas contratados em Macau; apresentado às Cortes na sessão legislativa de 1874* (Lisboa: 1874).

[24] Ch'ên Lanpin, Angus J. Macpherson, and A. Huber, *Report of the Commission Sent by China to Ascertain the Condition of Chinese Coolies in Cuba* (Shanghai: Imperial Maritime Customs Press, 1877); Elliott Young, *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era through World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 21–58.

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in British and French colonies as a "second slavery." He also warned against the high probability of "racial crossing" by pointing out that males constituted the majority of migrants from China and India.[25]

Far more cutting were the systematic and unrelenting views of Nicolau Moreira. In advance of the Philadelphia World Fair of 1876, which Pedro II would attend, the Agriculture minister commissioned Moreira to study immigration in the United States as the basis for a new emigrant guide for Brazil. The result was a detailed and extremely tendentious report, half of which was dedicated to criticizing Chinese migration as an affront to free labor and a source of prostitution, the corruption of youth, etc. Moreira's attacks served the double purpose of defending migration from Europe or the United States as the best option for Brazil.[26]

SITA associates, including Lage, Wright, and George Nathan, understood the degree to which these reports undercut their efforts and responded with a formidable compendium promoting Chinese immigration. The volume included all the laws applicable to their proposed trade, favorable news clippings, and a resounding speech on the Senate floor by Cândido Mendes. He drew from his past experience as manager of the 1850s Companhia Maranhense de Mineração, in which position he had managed some of the Chinese colonos from the government contract with Sampson & Tappan. Mendes could thus speak with ample authority on Asian labor, though he also cautiously qualified "the Chinese as worker, not as colono."[27]

However, no public figure took up SITA's cause with greater zeal than Cansansão de Sinimbú, the Alagoan who had begun his steady ascent in the imperial state when he received honorary titles with like-minded coevals like Souza Franco and Cândido Baptista de Oliveira in 1841. Paving his rise to notoriety was his report on the Nova Friburgo colony, which he penned for minister Ferraz in 1852 (see Chapter 5). Having served as provincial president of Alagoas and Sergipe, Sinimbú possessed

[25] João Cardoso de Menezes e Souza, *Theses sobre colonização do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1875); Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1874 [1866]).

[26] Nicolau Moreira, *Relatório sobre a imigração nos Estados-Unidos da América* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1877), 91–166; and *Agricultural Instructions for Those Who May Emigrate to Brazil* (New York: "O Novo mundo" Printing office, 1876).

[27] Antonio Martins Lage, Robert Wright, Manoel José da Costa Lima Vianna, João Antonio de Miranda e Silva, and George Nathan, *Demonstração das conveniências e vantagens à Lavoura no Brasil pela introducção dos trabalhadores asiáticos (da China)* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de P. Braga e C^{a}, 1877).

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a personal interest in the sugar economy as Agriculture minister in the cabinet of 1862.[28] Auspiciously chosen to preside over the Conselho de Estado and take the Agriculture portfolio once again in 1878, Sinimbú took up Olinda's mantle as regulator and informed modernizer.

In 1878, Sinimbú convened a multitudinous Agricultural Congress celebrated in separate assemblies in Rio and Recife. In preparation, a questionnaire devised by Sinimbú surveyed the 279 attendees (plus the 121 other planters who registered but did not attend) on seven discussion points dealing with the agricultural industry's travails. Questions two to four directly addressed concerns over labor shortages, asking participants to predict whether *ingênuos* born free after the law of 1871 would remain in large estates and to identify the best means to make up for dwindling field hands.

The queries turned the July Congress in Rio into a gladiatorial arena where the coolie question came to a head. A number of attendees as well as commissions from coffee-growing districts such as Juiz de Fora and Paraíba do Sul entirely rejected Chinese workers, with one individual referring to them as "retrograde and spent machines." As a general rule, however, planters maintained a rote racism that nonetheless consented to using Asian workers as transitory labor, a stance adopted by a group of São Paulo planters. Conversely, growers from sugar districts such as Quissimã, north of Macaé in Rio province, weighed positive precedents with coolie labor in Australia against Brazilians' ignorance regarding the benefits of Asian workers. Meanwhile, northeastern planters' views on coolies at the second Congress celebrated in October in Recife did not align with those of provincial Rio's sugar growers. Interventions by Henri Auguste Milet and António Coelho Rodrigues in fact advocated for employing Brazilian labor, including adult ingênuos, by means of more stringent policing over vagrants.[29]

The week after the Rio Congress, SITA empresarios pressed their case for coolie importation in the pages of *O Cruzeiro*, a newspaper launched by Portuguese emigré Henrique Corrêa Moreira to unseat the *JC* as the Court's journal of record. In a series of six letters published from July through September, the company men followed-up on the parliamentary

[28] AN, 69.CAI.OCR.7872201, Decree (17 July 1841).

[29] José Murilo de Carvalho, ed., *Congresso Agrícola* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1988 [1878]), 39, 70, 76; Sociedade Auxiliadora da Agricultura de Pernambuco, *Trabalhos do Congresso Agrícola do Recife* (Recife: Typ. de Manoel Figueiroa de Faria & Filhos, 1879), 308–321, 443–451.

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debates by dismissing anthropological assumptions of Chinese inferiority and updating readers on their efforts. In one of their early interventions in the *Cruzeiro*, they responded to a letter from planters in coffee-rich Valença that criticized the monopoly conceded to the SITA. Government, argued the planters, had extended its protection to "a specific enterprise *under the mantle* of favoring agriculture and at the cost of planters." This public accusation, the letter asserted, reeked of favoritism and also of commercial fraud. In response, the SITA circle doubled down on justifying their endeavors, explaining that long-distance shipping and a lack of markets for Brazilian products in China presented considerable difficulties. In the face of these challenges, "the need for solid and constituted guarantees and advances of considerable sums" called for a suspension of "free competition, at least at first" in order to "consolidate navigation and open the horizon of a serious speculation."[30]

And there was more to their defense. SITA's empresarios further explained that attempts to secure coolie shipments from Canton through the French consul foundered due to the Chinese Empire's objections to treaty nations remitting workers to third parties holding no agreements with China. They promised, therefore, to recruit workers from the United States and Perú as well and clarified that they did not seek to reap undeserved benefits. "We ask for no subvention whatsoever nor for planters to give us advances . . . only for reasonable prices and the support of public credit to watch over the interests of contractors and workers, and seek the just and discreet remuneration of our heavy advancements and efforts." Pushing for a Sino-Brazilian treaty as essential to their success, the empresarios continuously invoked the "patriotism, intelligence and judgement of the actual cabinet" and especially the "experience and administrative wisdom of the statesman leading the agriculture portfolio."

In this case, the medium was the problem. As the venue chosen by the empresarios, *O Cruzeiro* dragged the question of Chinese colonization and its advocates into a business feud with other newspapers. Editor Corrêa Moreira, long ridiculed as a "pato tonto," or lame duck, due to his apparent disingenuousness, was relentlessly targeted by other news outlets such as the *Gazeta de Notícias*. Because of *O Cruzeiro*'s business structure as a sociedade em comandita rather than as a sole proprietorship, other media outlets criticized the newspaper as a racket, an image

[30] "O Congresso Agrícola e a empreza dos trabalhadores asiáticos," *O Cruzeiro* nos. 200, 222, 229, 243, 256, 264 (20 July, 11, 18 Aug., 1, 14, 22 Sept. 1878).

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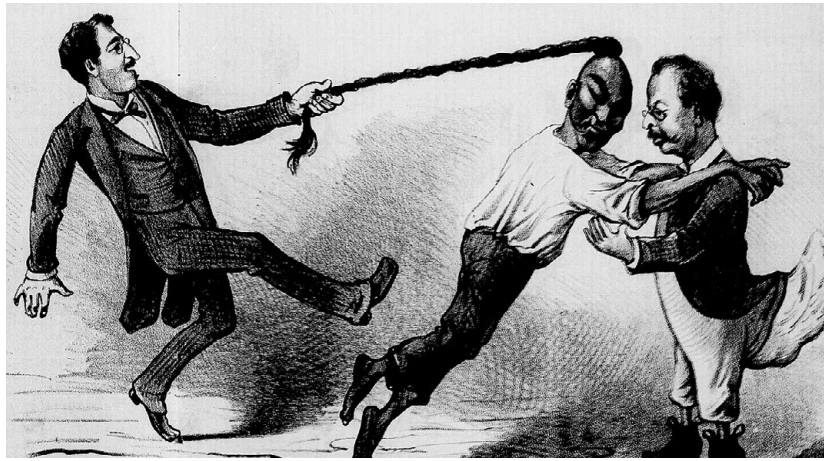

FIGURE 8.1 Coolies between business competitors
O Mequetrefe, no. 184 (24 Sept. 1879). Image Courtesy of Fundação Biblioteca Nacional.

that further deteriorated when Corrêa Moreira sought exclusive government contracts to announce official news.[31] While the *JC* kept its distance, weekly lampoons spared no opportunity to poke fun not only at Corrêa Moreira but at the myriad causes his newspaper championed, Chinese colonization prominent among them (Figure 8.1).

Indeed, while scholars have remarked on the racist underpinnings of the Chinese question, it is essential to note that tendentious stereotyping did not arise in motu proprio. Rather, it derived from, and even coded, greater political controversies, especially those mired in business disputes over government-bestowed privileges – the case both of *O Cruzeiro* and the SITA.[32] As *O Cruzeiro* continued to legitimize coolie schemes – publishing extracts from the *Révue Scientifique* or citing an Australian governor favorable to Chinese workers – sarcastic weeklies such as *O Mequetrefe* subjected the idea to withering scrutiny, mocking Chinese colonization with unabashed racist bromides and demonstrating that the coolie question had become the interphase of a business competition rather than a subject to be debated on its own merits.

While illustrated weeklies spent a good part of 1878 and the early months of 1879 skewering the Chinese as indolent workers or shifty

[31] Jaison Luís Crestani, "*O Cruzeiro* e a reinvenção de Machado de Assis," (Post-doc thesis, USP, 2015), 17–66.
[32] *A Lanterna*, no. 4 (6 June 1878).

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RESERVADO.
Se vamos ao espelho...zás o Chim.
Se a certo lugar... toma... o Chim.
A vista d'isto havemos de começar a ter chins, teremos o Chim-Nimbú.
o Chim-Gazeta
o Chim-Lastro
o Chim-Pato
o Chim-Pantas

FIGURE 8.2 The coolie question as political weapon: Sinimbú rechristened Chimnimbú
O Mequetrefe, no. 183 (17 Sept. 1879). Image Courtesy of Fundação Biblioteca Nacional.

chicken thieves, talks of a Chinese diplomatic mission gained traction. Shortly, Sinimbú approved sending a delegation to the Celestial Empire to secure a Sino-Brazilian commercial treaty. For this, lampoons rechristened him Chim-Nimbú, casting him as the figurehead of a new cohort of Brazilian Mandarins beset by "Chino-mania" (Figure 8.2). Clearly, attacks did not target the cause of Sino-Brazilian engagement as much as its paladins' activities. *O Mequetrefe*, for instance, quipped about the cabinet's *chinoiseries* in reference to obscure business transactions among empresarios and upper-crust politicians. And as talk of a diplomatic mission gathered force, so did attacks against those who supported Sino-Brazilian relations, putting in evidence the political and business motivations underscoring Sinophobic tirades.[33]

Sinimbú, however, contrived a clever counteroffensive. By the time Pedro II went to inaugurate the Philadelphia World Fair in 1876, Sinimbú had already commissioned Brazil's general consul to the United States, Salvador de Mendonça, to write a study on the Chinese question. Sinimbú strategically chose to release that study some months after the Agricultural Congress of 1878. The study was printed at the offices of the *Novo Mundo*, a singular New York–based Brazilian newspaper with an ambivalent track record on the Chinese question. While the paper had published Bret Harte's "The Heathen Chinese," a poem that pandered to commonplace biases, its editor, José Carlos Rodrigues, also reported positively on the Chinese in San Francisco and on 30 Chinese men studying at Yale College. Rodrigues's newspaper brought the Chinese

[33] *O Cruzeiro*, nos. 21, 62 (21 Jan., 3 Mar. 1878); *O Mequetrefe*, nos. 180, 183, 184 (20 Aug., 17 Sept., 24 Sept. 1879).

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question to the attention of Brazilians not unlike the Chinese students at Yale, the sons of a rising technocracy in the Paulista West and Rodrigues's intended audience, as historian Roberto Saba has demonstrated.[34]

Hot off the press at the offices of the *Novo Mundo*, Mendonça's work thus found a ready public. *Trabalhadores Asiáticos*, as the study was titled, was not just a master lesson for these informed mechanizers but even more so for the ranks of coolie naysayers in Brazil.[35] Mendonça's text made a compelling case for Asian emigration. The book surveyed the history of the Chinese Empire up to the most recent commercial treaties before examining the role of Chinese entrepreneurs and workers in the bourgeoning economies of the Hawai'ian archipelago, California, British Guiana, Indonesia, and Cuba. Mendonça's erudite and encompassing study easily surpassed Moreira's and Bocaiúva's chatter and more subtly left racial questions to the very last four of its 229 pages. In *Trabalhadores Asiáticos*, Sinimbú thus counted on a persuasive and unimpeachable defense of Chinese labor that recentered public conversation in substantive arguments rather than invectives.

Indeed, *Trabalhadores Asiáticos* could have riled up support for SITA had the company not encountered greater obstacles. SITA had in fact made little headway in its attempts to recruit workers either from Canton or San Francisco due to the Chinese government's insistence on maintaining its ban until it received guarantees of safe and just treatment for its subjects. SITA also lost the support of French consul Trenqualye when he got reassigned to Brussels after twenty years in Canton.[36] Then, SITA associates beseeched the imperial government to pursue a formal treaty with China as the only way to guarantee access to that emigrant pool. Sinimbú complied, but the decision signaled a long wait.

SITA empresarios formally voided their government contract as they awaited the outcome of the newly appointed diplomatic expedition to China. All their paths had closed. To be sure, the SITA associates had organized a relentless campaign that successfully steered the government to its favor. Prime minister Sinimbú had in turn put in his effort to steer planter classes in Rio and in the northeast toward a more positive

[34] *O Novo Mundo*, nos. 2, 14 (23 Nov. 1870, 24 Nov. 1871); Roberto Saba, *American Mirror: The United States and Brazil in the Age of Emancipation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 171–218; George Boehrer, "José Carlos Rodrigues and *O Novo Mundo*, 1870–1879," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 9, no. 1 (1967): 127–144.

[35] Salvador de Mendonça, *Trabalhadores Asiáticos* (New York: Typographia do Novo Mundo, 1879); *O Novo Mundo*, nos. 2, 14 (23 Nov. 1870, 24 Nov. 1871).

[36] *Journal officiel de la République française* (8 Nov. 1877).

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appraisal of coolie labor and weathered sardonic press attacks before finally moving toward a political overture to China. And yet, even after all these exertions, the pace of international diplomacy bore down on pro-coolie efforts, demonstrating the weight of global forces on domestic dynamics in Brazil. A similar experiment with Indian coolies would yet yield analogous lessons.

THE OTHER COOLIES: INDIAN LABORERS AND MAUÁ'S COLLAPSE

Concurrent with SITA's efforts, Brazil's topmost tycoon skirted the Chinese question altogether in a bid to explore the possibilities of "Hill coolies," as British authorities referred to migrant workers from India transported to colonies like British Guiana or Trinidad after the end of apprenticeship in 1838.[37] As with the Chinese question, Brazilians cast aspersions on Indian laborers, but the latter's alleged contentment with their place within the caste system magnified their allure for the sugar cane industry in Brazil. The "Hindou coolie," reported *O Cruzeiro*, was ideal for Brazilian planters ostensibly because he "did not long for other horizons. Limiting his ambition to carrying out his work, he focuses on earning more money, which makes him more productive."[38]

French industrial manufacturers informed such opinions by promoting coolie labor as part of their push to modernize sugar production. In 1874, for example, Louis A. Dolabaratz, an agent for Société Jean-François Cail & Compagnie, arrived in Rio to sell sugar refining machinery in the name of such a modernizing agenda.[39] By then, Cail & Co. was the second largest rail developer in France and a leading machinery provider for the

[37] The literature on the subject is considerably vast. See David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Madhavi Kale, *Fragments of Empire: Capital, Slavery, and Indian Indentured Labor in the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Richard B. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen, and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Ashutosh Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire: Indentured Indians in the Sugar Colonies, 1830–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[38] *O Cruzeiro*, no. 222 (11 Aug. 1878).

[39] *JC*, no. 94 (5 Apr. 1875); Daniel Kinnear Clark, *The Exhibited Machinery of 1862: A Cyclopædia of the Machinery Represented at the International Exhibition* (London: Day & Son, 1864), 262, 266, 316; Philippe Mioche, "Histoire du chemin de fer sucrier de Beauport, 1863–1990," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe* 165 (May–Aug. 2013): 3–73; *O Globo*, no. 119 (1 Dec. 1874); *Jornal do Recife*, nos. 296, 22 (29 Dec. 1874, 28 Jan. 1875).

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global sugar industry. Cail-built innovations such as the triple-effect vacuum-pan apparatus and the centrifugal machine powered a sugar surge in Guadeloupe, Martinique, Cuba, southern Spain, and Egypt, where central mills had taken hold as Cail's preferred form for spatially organizing the industry.

Naturally, Dolabaratz's sojourn in Brazil enticed planters and government alike. As Dolabaratz sold hard on his allegedly cost-saving wares, he proposed that the imperial government build central mills in sugar-growing provinces and retool them as agrarian normal schools.[40] Off record, he also insinuated the need for coolies by providing officials with documentation on Indian workers in Mauritius and Réunion. There they had proved pivotal to growth, although the Mascarene islands' sugar boom began to recede once drought, a searing malaria epidemic, and a potent cyclone brought planters to their knees from 1866–1868. After Dolabratz's departure, Sinumbú shared some of those documents with conservative Paulino José Soares de Sousa and convinced him that Indian emigration was the most convenient substitute for slave labor.[41]

The barão de Mauá, as one of the wealthiest men in the Brazilian Empire and a sugar producer himself, was particularly attuned to these new ideas. Atalaia, his estate in the Macaé district north of Rio, had earned plaudits at the National Exposition of 1875 thanks to the sugar refining process perfected by André Paturau, a mechanical engineer hired by Mauá straight from Mauritius. Although Atalaia fell short of the snow-like product of Five-Lille mills established by Khedive Ismail in the Lower Nile, some in Brazil believed that Mauá produced sugar of greater quality than other Brazilian planters in "the integrity and transparency of its crystals."[42] After his dashing demonstration of

[40] *JC*, no. 94 (5 Apr. 1875); *Jornal do Recife*, no. 82 (12 Apr. 1875).

[41] BN, Manuscritos-63.04.002 no.108, Sinimbú to Soares de Sousa (4 Apr. 1876); Richard B. Allen, "The Slender, Sweet Thread: Capital and Dependency in Mauritius, 1860–1936," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 16 (1981): 177–200.

[42] Benjamin Franklin Ramiz Galvão, *Catálogo da Exposição Nacional em 1875* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia e Lithographia Carioca, 1875), 374; José de Saldanha da Gama, *Estudos sobre a quarta Exposição Nacional de 1875* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Central de Brown & Evaristo, 1876), 151; Augusto Emilio Zaluar, *Exposição Nacional brasileira de 1875* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Globo, 1876), 245; *O Globo*, no. 138 (21 May 1875); *DRJ*, no. 347 (18 Dec. 1875); Roberta Barros Meira, "A quimera da modernização: do terceiro distrito de engenhos centrais ao complexo agroindustrial sucroalcooleiro paulista, mineiro e fluminense, 1875–1928" (PhD diss., USP, 2012).

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technological innovation, Mauá devised his own coolie importation scheme in an intentional effort to capitalize on the surging interest in the sugar industry. Of course, Mauá could not afford not to, given the dire state of his finances. In 1869, the Uruguayan branch of his lead firm, Mauá Bank & Company, ran afoul of the government in Montevideo. In 1876, when colonel Lorenzo de la Torre took over the Uruguayan government, he canceled Mauá Bank's special concessions, forcing the bank to suspend up to £10 million in payments, mostly to Brazilian creditors.[43]

Going into receivership, Mauá scrambled for opportunities to diversify and recapitalize his portfolio and in the process reinvented himself as an "agricultural entrepreneur."[44] Luckily, the crisis coincided with Pedro II's departure to the Philadelphia World Fair. In his absence, Mauá approached a perhaps more receptive princess regent Isabel, who had given birth to her first surviving child five months beforehand.[45] Mauá's proposal of an ambitious coolie importation scheme was premised on the need to ensure the "reproductive elements of invested capital" and called attention to France's treaty with Great Britain to import workers from the latter's Asian territories. Soon enough, French possessions attained production levels unmatched by the British Antilles themselves. According to Mauá, failure to follow a similar path meant that Brazilian "investment of liquid capital in [mechanical] improvements will disappear." Indian coolies, he believed, would also bolster European colonization by providing settlers with a cheap workforce.

Mauá requested a 25-year company privilege to import coolies from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay under an Anglo-Brazilian treaty arranged by Brazilian diplomats. The company would distribute coolies on request from three model plantations spread across the Empire. Government

[43] Lídia Besouchet, *Mauá e seu tempo* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1978), 157–160; Roderick Barman, "Business and Government in Imperial Brazil: The Experience of Viscount Mauá," *JLAS 13*, no. 2 (1981): 239–164.

[44] Jorge Caldeira, *Mauá: empresário do Império* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995), 515–536; J. J. Aubertin and S. Paulo Railway Company (Limited), *Pretenções do visconde de Mauá: carta circular do presidente da companhia dirigida aos accionistas* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Acadêmica, 1875).

[45] Roderick Barman, *Princess Isabel of Brazil: Gender and Power in the Nineteenth Century* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 121–158; Jeffrey Needell, *The Sacred Cause: The Abolitionist Movement, Afro-Brazilian Mobilization, and Imperial Politics in Rio de Janeiro* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020), 53–56.

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would cover the voyage for the first 2,000 coolies, after which the company would cover 5,000 more in its first year. The company could begin operations within eight months, with fiscal revenues closely behind considering the high interest rates on travel cost subsidies recommended by Mauá.[46] Mauá then found a partner in [Charles Antoine] Auguste de Chazal, a prominent fourth-generation Mauritian planter.[47] And on 3 April 1877, the 453-ton French barque *Jean Pierre* arrived in Rio from Port Louis via the Cape of Good Hope carrying 197 "Indian immigrants" below deck and reporting no casualties. Some days later, at least 186 coolies took another steamer to the port of Imbetiba in Macaé, where they settled in at Atalaia.[48]

But Mauá's scheme devolved quickly. Within a month, 14 aggrieved coolies made their way from Macaé to Rio by foot to protest their treatment with the British consul.[49] After four days at the Court, a steamer took them back to Atalaia, but the incident marked only the beginning of Mauá's difficulties. Mauá and his managers were blindsided by the Indian workers' labor expectations and customary practices in Mauritius, as well as by the impact of gender imbalance on a majority-male cohort. Then, in early June 1877, one of the Indian workers was assassinated. Three others were arrested and transported to Rio as suspects, until a fourth later confessed to the public prosecutor at Macaé.[50]

Mauá, however, was more concerned with his finances than with the scandal. The same day, as news of the homicide emerged, a lawyer for one of his debtors accused him of intentionally avoiding paying damages to his English client during the construction of the Santos-Jundiaí railroad. Mauá's *Exposição aos credores* (1878), an autobiographical and exculpatory letter to exasperated creditors, narrated his banking enterprises' progression from 1854 until a debt moratorium in 1875, whose expiration in 1878 brought his operations to a crash. Facing personal liability

[46] IHGB-(vm), Lata 514, Pasta 6, Mauá to princess Isabel ("Projeto do Barão de Mauá de Imigração de coolies" (12 Oct. 1876); NAk, F.O.13/560 "Emigration of Coolies from Mauritius to Brazil (Mana Estate)" (1877–1879).

[47] "Rev. Mr. Nussbaum's Trip to the Indian Ocean," *New-Church Messenger* 109 (July–Dec. 1915): 27.

[48] *DRJ*, no. 88 (4 Apr. 1877); *JC*, no. 97 (8 Apr. 1877).

[49] *O Globo*, nos. 108, 112, 113, 122 (2, 6, 7–8, 18 May 1877).

[50] *DRJ*, nos. 154, 173, 183 (9, 29 June, 9 July 1877); *O Globo*, nos. 183, 229 (27 July, 19 Sept. 1877).

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for his crumbling financial emporium, Mauá surveyed his accomplishments and admitted enacting the coolie scheme exclusively to salvage his finances, as agrarian pursuits had never interested him.

According to Mauá, the "coolie experience" was somewhat successful. He judged half of the Indians as "good workers" and the other half as hoodlums hired in the immediacy of Port Louis against his express instructions. Mauá wished well to future coolie schemes, hoping that "100,000 coolies came every year for a whole decade," even if Brazilians had to pay for their return trip, although he also admitted that "it never crossed [his] mind to colonize Brazil with that race." As part of the liquidation of Mauá's assets, Atalaia passed to government hands.[51]

The Mauá episode ensured that Chinese rather than Indian coolie labor remained the core topic of debate around colonization alternatives in the aftermath of the Free Womb Law. Atalaia and its coolies flagged the unexpected liabilities that came from hiring Indian workers from the less regulated entrepot of Mauritius rather than from India, and it had thus laid bare the complications and interdictions that would follow if that supply channel to Brazil became routinized. Significantly, the episode also exposed the limitations that one man alone confronted in mobilizing a colonization scheme even if he possessed great wealth and opportune international connections. Collective enterprises such as SITA, with the experiential know-how provided by its advocates' previous links to the SII, remained more powerful vehicles for colonization projects. Even if they faced their own adversities, they reaffirmed the greater might of companies as vehicles for colonization.

LOBBIES AND CREDIT IN THE UNRAVELING OF THE CHINESE QUESTION

In 1878, Sinimbú reinvigorated debates and business plans around Chinese coolie labor as the new prime minister and president of the Conselho de Estado, countering old coffee planters who rejected the idea amid tightening financial constraints. Sinimbú had become the

[51] Irineu Evangelista de Sousa, *Exposição do Visconde de Mauá aos credores de Mauá & C e ao público* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imp. E Const. De J. Villeneuve, 1878); Joseph Mulhern, "Mauá's Indians: An Experiment in Indian '*Coolie*' Labour in Brazil, 1876–1878" (MA thesis, King's College, 2013).

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uncontested architect of sugar's revival, not of coffee, championing investment-heavy improvements that cemented a "web of mutually advantageous complicity" between foreign capital and the Brazilian government. Through his policies, these two spheres worked as symbiotes: imperial government guarantees unmatched at the provincial level benefited foreign factors as their technologies and investments allowed central-government officials to distribute infrastructural projects as favors to local clienteles. The Agricultural Congress further strengthened Sinimbú's program by streamlining ideas about agricultural credit and coolie labor. In 1878, therefore, Sinimbú could drown opposition voices including among centrist liberals weakened by the recent death of senator Zacarias, a vehement detractor of Chinese and Indian immigration.[52] The new liberal ascendancy also diminished the clout of conservative sugar interests in the northeast.

To be sure, the coolie question waned after SITA's demise, but the afterglow of its and Sinimbú's efforts lit the path for similar daring proposals of coolie importation. Bernardo Caymari, for instance, came up with a Brazilian Mutual Aid Company of Coolie Emigration. His proposed company would negotiate with Chinese mutual aid societies in San Francisco or China to repatriate or directly import Chinese coolies with pre-approved contracts. The scheme cleverly adapted to the ongoing liquidity crisis by offering planters the possibility of covering the workers' cost of travel with credit letters committed to repaying in six-month terms, that is, "when the salaried work had rendered its fruit."[53] Although Caymari's plan was less ambitious than SITA's, its very existence signaled SITA's exemplary role and added pressure for Brazil to negotiate a treaty.

SITA's decade-long campaign for a Sino-Brazilian treaty finally succeeded in 1879, when the Foreign ministry secured an extraordinary credit to finance the Brazilian Empire's first diplomatic mission to the Celestial Empire. Chosen for the voyage were Eduardo Callado, then minister in Paraguay, and Artur Silveira da Mota, the son of senator

[52] Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *O Norte agrário e o império, 1871–1889* (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 1999), 161–190; *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, no. 1 (8 Jan. 1878).

[53] Bernardo Caymari and William de Lara Tupper, *Prospecto apresentado aos lavradores do Brazil para organisação de uma Companhia Mútua Brazileira de Emigração-Coolie* (Rio de Janeiro: Leuzinger & Filhos, 1878), cited in *Anais da BN* (1881–1882), vol. 9, pt. 2, 1258; *JC*, no. 252 (9 Sept. 1878).

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and coolie labor enthusiast José Ignácio Silveira da Mota. A young intern from the Madrid legation, Henrique Carlos Ribeiro Lisboa, joined as secretary, entering government service in the footsteps of his grandfather, Junta do Comércio officer and mathematician José Maria Lisboa, and his father, Edinburgh-educated US envoy Miguel Maria Lisboa.[54] Timing favored the mission. As the British customs commissioner at Shantou reported, the Brazilians would probably seek emigrants from that port, about 175 miles east of the Pearl River delta. In 1879, 17,216 emigrants left from Shantou, marking a slight decline in exits, but the following year a rice harvest failure spurred 49,500 new departures and hastened Brazilian efforts to reverse the Chinese ban on company agents.[55] A Sino-Brazilian treaty was finally promulgated in 1881, although the Brazilian envoys excluded any stipulations on migrations to avoid jeopardizing their initial rapport.

The treaty slightly shifted public opinion toward a more positive appreciation of Chinese questions over the following years. French scientist Louis Couty, for instance, offered a relatively supportive lecture on Chinese immigration and salaries in Rio's Polytechnical School.[56] Brazilians who visited China or learned about it in the United States confronted prejudices more boldly – even if reproducing biases of their own. José Custódio Alves de Lima, for example, was a technocratic modernizer who edited the *Aurora Brazileira* in Syracuse University and was commissioned by São Paulo planters to recruit 3,000 Chinese workers in the United States in 1881. In a book on the United States he published in 1886, he repudiated complaints that the "Chinese element" could "completely nullify the national element, as if our Latin race, and the Teutonic race, did not have enough autonomy to resist such imaginary nullification." The Sino-Brazilian mission secretary even more adamantly defended China by pointing to its internal diversity while blaming coolie-trade mishaps on the Tankia, who he described as the most destitute of Chinese peoples and the bulk of Macao's emigrants.[57]

[54] *Relatório dos Assuntos Estrangeiros* (1879), 14, 19.

[55] *Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports, for the Year 1879* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General, 1879), 219–220; "Swatow," in *Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports, for the Year 1879*, pt II (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General, 1881), 10.

[56] *Gazeta de Notícias*, no. 177 (28 June 1882).

[57] José Custódio Alves de Lima, *Estados-Unidos e Norte-Americanos, acompanhado de algumas considerações sobre a imigração chineza no Império do Brazil* (São Paulo: Typographia de Jorge Seckler, 1886), 158, 185–194; Saba, *American Mirror*, 204–206;

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Then, in 1881, as planters worried about a gathering liquidity crisis and strained government budgets, they organized a propagandistic lobby, the Centro da Lavoura e Commércio, to develop new consumer markets. Centro members fiercely debated the Chinese question. China envoys Henrique Lisboa and the younger Silveira da Mota took to the floor to vouch for the honesty and utility of Chinese workers, but their speeches were rudely interrupted. Portuguese expatriate Ramalho Ortigão, the Centro's vice-president, was forced to defend them. He declared that the Centro would protect the Chinese the same as any free immigrant. Despite the strained atmosphere of most meetings, members passed a resolution supporting Chinese immigration and petitioning the Brazilian government to name a consul and provide subsidies for a Chinese navigation company.[58]

The Centro's polemics fired up abolitionists and Positivists as the most impassioned opponents against what liberal Joaquim Nabuco described as the looming threat of "Mongolization." Among the former, the Black abolitionist intellectual José do Patrocínio became the leading avenger against a "yellow slavery," speaking of the Chinese as "an eminent threat to the present European and Brazilian worker" and later turning to the *Gazeta da Tarde* with tireless tirades in line with the paper's continuous criticism of "a Chinese mania" started by Sinimbú. Under the pseudonym of Proudhomme, Patrocínio satirized the request for subsidies for a Chinese steamship line while peppering his weekly political review with reference to the figure of the yellow slave. Sinophiles, he claimed, broke ranks with Brazilian "civilization, with our nature, which opened a horizon to the descendants of slaves, and asks for the Chinese *worker*, that is, the Chinese machine with no aspirations but the modest salary determined by the plantation or the barracks."[59]

Miguel Lemos, the president of the Positivist Society of Rio de Janeiro, led his brethren against what he similarly perceived as the dangers of Chinese immigration. Lemos publicly opposed Salvador de Mendonça's

Henrique Antonio Ré, "Os esforços dos abolicionistas britânicos contra a imigração de chineses para o Brasil no final do século XIX," *Vária História* 34, no. 66 (2018): 837–838; Henrique Ribeiro Lisboa, *A China e os chins (recordações de viagem)* (Montevideo: Typ. de A. Godel, 1888), 275–285.

[58] *Gazeta da Tarde*, nos. 86, 88 (18, 20 Apr. 1882); *Diário do Brazil*, no. 90 (22 Apr. 1882).

[59] *Gazeta da Tarde*, nos. 74, 91 (3, 24 Apr. 1882); Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 151–156.

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conferences on Chinese immigration and was a spirited participant in the Centro's soirées. Later, he sought to sink coolie schemes once and for all by warning the Chinese ambassador in England and France, the marquis Tsêng, of Brazilian planters' quest to install a new "disguised slavery." Lemos called off any "solidarity with degenerate men who ... confound their own greed with national dignity and interests," unequivocally denouncing planters as speculators, and their plans as a racket.[60] Whereas coolie supporters focused on Chinese workers' utility, abolitionists and Positivists alike harped on the money-oriented nature of both coolies and their advocates – and targeted colonization as nothing more than a profiteering business pursuit.

In the end, however, it was financial dynamics, not political ones, that demoted Chinese immigration from the list of the Centro's priorities. In the early 1880s, the Centro began its transformation from a simple agrarian lobby to what its promotional material published in Europe described as a "commercial-agricultural corporation" dedicated to perfecting production and promoting Brazilian coffee in "countries where its consumption is limited or close to null." The three conferences celebrated at the end of 1882 accompanied the Centro's first domestic Coffee Expo, which set the tone for a second such event a year later and for international exhibits as far as St. Petersburg. A short time later, the World Cotton Centennial in New Orleans also welcomed a Centro commission headed by none other than the consul general in the United States, Salvador de Mendonça. A leading authority of Chinese immigration now bowed to the internationalization of Brazilian coffee.[61]

The Centro's conferences prepared the ground for the ambitious rebranding of Brazil's main export by focusing on financial and

[60] Miguel Lemos, *Immigração chineza. Mensagem a S. Ex. o Embaixador do Celeste Império junto aos governos de França e Inglaterra* (Rio de Janeiro: Centro Positivista Brazileiro, 1881); *Gazeta de Notícias*, no. 342 (10 Dec. 1881); *JC*, no. 79 (20 Mar. 1882); Miguel Lemos, *L'apostolat positiviste au Brésil* (Rio de Janeiro: Société Positiviste, 1884), 33–36.

[61] Centro da Lavoura e Commércio, *Breve notícia sobre a primeira exposição de café do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de Moreira, Maximino e C., 1882); *Segunda Exposição do Café do Brazil: Relatório* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de Moreira, Maximino e C., 1883); *La Société Centro da Lavoura e Commercio à Rio de Janeiro* (Amsterdam: Typ. de Brakke Grond, 1883); *Le Brésil à l'Exposition Internationale de St. Pétersbourg* (St. Petersburg: Imprimerie Trenké et Fusnot, 1884); *The Empire of Brazil at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition of New Orleans* (New. York: E. P. Coby & Co., 1885); Álvaro Lins, *Rio-Branco (O Barão do Rio-Branco): biografia pessoal e história política* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1965), 107–108.

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administrative reforms rather than immigration per se. At the first of four conferences, José Pereira de Faro made a resounding case for immediate capitalization needs. As part of the Darrigue Faro clan, the third barão do Rio Bonito had inherited not just his nobiliary status but also a long acquaintance with migration promotion efforts: his grandfather's firm, Faro, Vergueiro & Co. was shareholder in the SPC of 1836, while his father, João Pereira Darrigue Faro, oversaw colonization affairs as provincial vice-president of Rio de Janeiro in the early 1850s. Having spoken to Nicolás de Avellaneda, Argentinian president and author of the famous colonization and immigration law of 1876, Rio Bonito credited Argentinian success in drawing foreigners to the "hefty sums" expended in propaganda and a "revolutionary militarism" that "opened way ... to the plow."[62]

Yet the lack of an adequate work contract law marred Brazilian progress. After shouldering heavy expenses to bring colonos, planters lacked the means to coerce them to contractual compliance. Working in the immigration service, Rio Bonito knew firsthand that colonos fled to the "vastness of this empire," shortly after signing contracts. Thus, besides a passing allusion to Asian workers as a "transitional means," this was as much as this conference would offer on the topic of migration promotion. Beholden as it was to old slaveholding and merchant classes, the Centro's intelligentsia, led by Rio Bonito, simply abandoned the Chinese question. In no uncertain terms, the conference demonstrated how clearly domestic debates on foreign labor could decelerate when new means of wealth creation emerged, which confirmed colonization as a business pursuit in and of itself and not always indelibly tied to labor replacement concerns.

To be sure, Chinese labor migration was not entirely off the table. In 1882, private company-led Chinese colonization was still possible despite the gradual loss of support among the planter class. Prominent merchants could still put on offer the "comfortable and secure acquisition of [Chinese] workers at modest salaries" at their bureaus in Rio or São

[62] On Rio Bonito's predecessors, APERJ, PP, Secretaria, 19, mç. 2, Faro to Rio Police Chief (4 June 1853); mç. 4, Faro to Municipal Chamber of Macacú (10 June 1850). Regarding Argentina, Rio Bonito was referring to the genocidal campaign begun by Julio Argentino Roca in 1878 to eradicate Tehuelches, Mapuches, Rankulches, and other indigenous peoples in the pampas and Patagonia. See Carolyne Larson, ed., *The Conquest of the Desert: Argentina's Indigenous Peoples and the Battle for History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020).

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Paulo.[63] As Eduardo Callado conducted negotiations for a coolie trade in Rio with visitors G. C. Butler, a US merchant recommended by the marquis Tsêng, and Tong King-Sing, the director of the state-owned China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, a new company popped up in Rio. The Companhia de Comércio e Imigração Chineza (Chinese Commerce and Immigration Company) quickly acquired 100 Chinese workers for the St. John d'el Rei Mining Company in Minas Gerais, a decades-old British enterprise still bristling from the freedom suits of hundreds of enslaved workers. Notably, in view of the dismal conditions at St. John d'el Rei's Morro Velho and Cata Branca mines, the Chinese refused to work and fled, but their defection did not hinder negotiations for a broader coolie trade.[64]

In part, the pressure exerted by Miguel Lemos and later the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on the Chinese ambassador in London achieved its intended effect – Tong King-Sing and Butler left Brazil less than a month after their arrival.[65] In part, the hasty departure was the fallout of the marquis Tsêng's tense encounters with the Brazilian minister in London on account of the latter's alleged plans to send gunboats to China to secure coolies, as reported in the press.[66] But taking a wide view, the latest Chinese immigration scheme fell through due to a mismatch between China's expectations of good treatment for its subjects and the actual slavery-like conditions that awaited those colonos in Brazil, a problem that could not be easily resolved due to Brazil's funding shortfalls.

In 1884, C. van Delden Laërne, a Dutch envoy who had served six years in Java, arrived in Rio to study coffee cultivation. Poring over statistics and news, he judged that the British government had directly foiled the Chinese colonization project. Yet, Laërne underlined the lack of

[63] *O Globo*, no. 123 (31 Jan. 1882).

[64] Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 22–36; *Anti-Slavery Reporter* 4, no. 2 (Aug. 1882): 207–210.

[65] "Scheme for Introducing Chinese Labor into Brazil," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 4, no. 3 (Mar. 1884): 63; Chi-King Lai, "China's First Modern Corporation and the State: Officials, Merchants, and Resource Allocation in the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, 1872–1902" (PhD diss., University of California, Davis, 1992); Ré, "Os esforços."

[66] "Extracts from the Diary of the Marquis Tsêng," *The Nineteenth Century* 82 (Dec. 1883): 999–1000.

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an expected subsidy for the China Merchant's line as a factor that also frustrated the possibility of a Chinese migration treaty. Lobby groups in Rio had certainly pressured against any subsidy, but in truth the Brazilian government could ill-afford such an extraordinary expense. As the Finance minister reported, a "regimen of deficits" had "imprisoned" the Empire by widening budgetary gaps between allocations and actual expenses. The regular budget for 1882–1883 featured a deficit of 899:801$000, which, with extraordinary expenditures, more than doubled to 21.314:596$000, of which 79 percent went to the Agriculture ministry alone.[67] From this perspective, budget shortfalls doomed the Brazilian Empire's most eventful overture yet toward the Celestial Empire, putting in evidence that financial expectations and the dearth of credit at different scales posed a more serious obstacle to Chinese immigration than the xenophobic tirades of some Positivists, abolitionists, and planters.

* * *

Above the din of racist rants, Brazilians rooting for coolie labor found their foil in the lack of diplomatic agreements with China and in credit constraints, not only among planters but more importantly in government budgets already stretched thin. Whereas the imperial government needed colonization companies like SITA as pathbreakers, these in turn necessitated government support. The absence of this delicate symbiosis inevitably thwarted empresarios' expectations and government hopes alike.

Yet the Brazilian government's stark inability to, for example, subsidize migrant transports or offer per capita recruitment prizes at this time was not the only indication of the implausibility of coolie schemes. The timing did not help either. In the early 1880s, governments embedded in coolie-trading networks doubled down on their vigilance over long-simmering problems in the trafficking or settlement of Chinese or Indian persons overseas. In the United States, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 inaugurated an era of restrictions that, in principle, could have seen the Celestial Empire resort to Brazil as a preferred destination for its

[67] C. F. van Delden Laërne, *Brazil and Java Report on Coffee Culture in America, Asia and Africa* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1885), 148–151; 1 Aug. session, *ACD* (1885), vol. 3, 280; *Relatório da Fazenda* (1884), 11–25.

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subjects but in fact led to greater guardedness among Chinese and US authorities reeling from the anti-Chinese violence that followed.[68]

Similarly, in the case of Mauá's Indian coolies, long-standing internal dilemmas in the British government about how to handle re-emigration of coolies from Mauritius boiled over. An ongoing jurisdictional dispute pitted the India and Foreign Offices, which mutually attributed to the other any responsibility for the repatriation costs of the Indian coolies of Atalaia. Starting in 1880, the India Office was charged for the return of 153 of Mauá's coolies to Mauritius but objected that, if allowed, its involvement could serve as precedent for covering the expenses of all destitute coolies. After a couple of years of wrangling, the India Office ended up defraying the costs of repatriation, but only as an exception.[69]

Indeed, this question of repatriation, which had already become a mainstay of work contracts in both the Indian and Chinese trades, epitomized the economic barriers to a workable coolie system for Brazil. Mauá's inability to defray the relocation of Atalaia's Indian laborers to Mauritius or India became a negative externality to a number of British government offices suddenly enmeshed in a sour dispute. Compounded by charges of maltreatment in Brazil, the certainty that Brazilians would not carry the costs of repatriation vaporized the possibility of future coolie transports under British sanction.

By 1883, after fifteen years of acrimonious debate, the conceit that Asian workers could replace the "servile element" had failed to gather more support. The cause had racked up a rather bizarre track record: starting out as a pet issue of unrepentant young radicals like Quintino Bocaiúva, it got picked up by the dashing merchants of the SITA and was defended by Sinimbú's Liberal center before slaveholding elites from the Paraíba Valley ostensibly adopted it as a stratagem to perpetuate slavery by another name. In the face of mounting agitation, the planter-friendly Centro da Lavoura shed its initial interest in Chinese immigrants in favor of new credit lines.

[68] Beth Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

[69] NAk, F.O.13/585, "Emigration of Coolies from Mauritius to Brazil (Mana Estate)" (1880–1882); BL, IOR/L/PJ/6/19, File 1093, "Emigration between Mauritius and Brazil: Further request for reconsideration of decision not to charge Indian reserves with expenses on account of return to Mauritius of a portion of deserters amongst Indians brought to Brazil in 1877" (1880). For a recent study confrming this outcome, see Reshaad Durgahee, *The Indentured Archipelago: Experiences of Indian Labour in Mauritius and Fiji, 1871–1916* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 215–221.

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Then, when the Brazilian government refused to subsidize a regular packet between Chinese ports and Rio, the Chinese question simply lost steam. And finally, as an emboldened abolitionist movement reemerged in the mid-1880s, a new colonization association, the Sociedade Central de Imigração, arose that aggressively flaunted its contempt for Chinese workers and celebrated the Chinese Exclusion Act. As this new association lambasted the likes of the SITA merchants as lowly pursuers of "fabulous lucre," it concocted its own moneymaking colonization pursuits and sank the Chinese question further into irrelevance.[70]

[70] *Gazeta de Notícias*, no. 287 (14 Oct. 1883); *Sociedade Central de Immigração*, no. 1 (1 Dec. 1883).

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PART IV

PEOPLING THE COUNTRY OF THE FUTURE

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9

At the Doorstep of Mass Migrations

From roughly 1870 to 1914, an estimated 36,890,000 migrants, mostly from Europe, arrived at major ports in the Americas, swept in by a confluence of global and local forces. Demographic growth, increasing agricultural yields, the rise of steamship transportation, and the consolidation of liberal regimes allowed for such freedom of movement as to trigger what Aristide Zolberg called the "exit revolution." Family and neighborhood ties in the sites of departure completed the picture, as did migrant recruitment networks and their agents.[1] Together, these dynamics contributed to an unprecedented era of mass migration that prompted the rise of seemingly new governmental controls over people and territory. National and local governments responded to migrant arrivals as they could, often on the heels of public health crises, diplomatic hustles, popular pressure, or elite machinations in favor of or against particular types of migrants.

Across national scenarios, governments managed and standardized arrivals through the establishment of port entry stations, temporary migrant shelters, and, later, the restrictions and quotas that came into vogue after World War I.[2]

[1] Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870–1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 14; on macro- and micro-structural factors conditioning migrations, see José Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 13–44, 60–120; Aristide Zolberg, "The Exit Revolution," in *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*, ed. Nancy Green and François Weil (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 33–60.

[2] David Cook-Martín and David Scott FitzGerald, *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

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Among these, migrant reception centers best signaled the institutionalization of reception measures, as they proliferated across the Americas including along Brazil's vast littoral in the form of *hospedarias*. In São Paulo, the Hospedaria de Bom Retiro was built in 1881 and was followed by the Hospedaria da Ilha das Flores (1883) in Rio de Janeiro; the Hospedaria de Imigrantes in Salvador (c.1886); the Hospedaria da Pedra d'Água, in Vitória (constructed 1887, opened 1889); the Hospedaria do Cristal, in Porto Alegre (1890); and the Hospedaria de Imigrantes do Outeiro, in Belém (1895). Each of these came to its own out of discussions at different levels of government. The Ilha das Flores came at the hand of the central government; the province of São Paulo developed its own hospedarias; and that in Salvador was operated by a civil association, the Sociedade Bahiana de Imigração. The life spans of these institutions likewise varied. The one in Rio Grande do Sul functioned for 8 years, while Espírito Santo's went on for 30. São Paulo's second hospedaria, opened in 1887 in the Brás neighborhood after the Bom Retiro location experienced a smallpox outbreak, shut down close to a century later in 1978, after more than two million migrants passed through its doors.[3]

Significantly, the first of these hospedarias – and the most important at the time – had originated in Rio rather than São Paulo and had risen straight out of the profiteering inherent to colonization. In 1876, an IIFA commission examining senator José Ignácio Silveira da Mota's pisciculture experiments at the Ilha das Flores in Guanabara Bay produced glowing reports of the island's natural endowments. The commission convinced the central government to purchase it for the estimable sum of almost 5 contos. Ilha das Flores was then repurposed into a migrant hospice that substituted the laborious removals of fresh incomers to inland depots. While migrant entries into Rio dipped from 24,493 to

[3] Maria Isabel de Jesus Chrysostomo and Laurent Vidal, "De depósito à hospedaria de imigrantes: Gênese de um 'território da espera' no caminho da emigração para o Brasil," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 21, no. 1 (2014): 195–217; Luís Reznik and Rui Fernandes, "Hospedarias de imigrantes nas Américas: A criação da hospedaria da Ilha das Flores," *História* 33, no. 1 (2014): 234–253; Paulo César Gonçalves, "A hospedaria de imigrantes de São Paulo: Um novo espaço para o recrutamento de braços europeus pela economia cafeeira," in *Brasil-Portugal: Pontes sobre o Atlântico. Múltiplos olhares sobre a e/imigração*, ed. Lená Medeiros de Menezes and Fernando de Sousa (Rio de Janeiro: Eduerj, 2017), 285–298; Marcos Antônio de Carvalho, "Bebendo açaí, comendo bacalhau: perfil e práticas da sociabilidade lusa em Belém do Pará entre finais do século XIX e início do séxulo XX" (PhD diss., Universidade do Porto, 2011), 85–125; Gabriela Ucoski da Silva, "História e aspectos do cotidiano da hospedaria de imigrantes do Cristal Porto Alegre (1890–1898)" (MA thesis, PUCRS, 2014).

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19,608 in 1884, its first year, immigration boosters would soon flood the city with more migrants than ever.[4]

It was precisely at this expansive time for foreign arrivals and migration-reception infrastructure that a new colonization association began operations, emulating – and soon transcending – its colonization company forebears. In 1884, three prominent German residents, members of a migrant intelligentsia reared in state-sponsored colonies, issued a call for government officials and businessmen to bolster immigration propaganda: Herman Blumenau, the diligent empresario behind the eponymous colony in Santa Catarina; Hugo Grüber, editor of the Rio-based *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung*; and Karl von Koseritz, the first German to take a seat at the Chamber for Rio Grande do Sul in 1874. Notably, von Koseritz was also the former editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, in whose pages he incited the violence leading to the massacre of Jacobina Maurer and countless other colonos in what became known as the Mucker War of 1873–1874. A short time after this initial meeting among empresarios, the Sociedade Central de Imigração (Central Immigration Association, hereafter SCI) was formed, issuing the first of many successive manifestos and launching its own periodical.[5]

The SCI soon became an avid propagandist for mass migrations to Brazil and a powerful lobby pushing for the necessary policies to sustain them. In consequence, leading scholarly characterizations of the SCI depict it as a salient reformist group that tried to stoke migrations and bolster small property holding and in doing so set itself apart from large landholding interests. Historian Michael Hall more specifically describes the SCI as a kind of middle-class club that ultimately fell short of its goal of subverting planters' aims. However, the SCI was not in fact the site of an inter-class conflict but rather a curious intellectual amalgam that brought together high and middle classes who understood and agreed on the potential values of migratory processes. Moreover, far from ineffectual, its robust and unceasing lobbying efforts boiled down the lessons of prior colonization experiments into policy proposals that broadly carried through the abolition of slavery in 1888 and a coup in 1889.

[4] ANd, ON.o.POF.41/28, hospedaria director Francisco Xavier da Cunha to Agriculture minister Afonso Pena (5 July 1883); *Relatório da Agricultura* (1885), 357.

[5] *Sociedade Central de Immigração*, no. 1 (1 Dec. 1883); "Primeiro manifesto à população e ao commércio do Brazil" [12 Nov. 1883], *A Immigração*, no. 20 (May 1886); João Biehl, "The Mucker War: A History of Violence and Silence," in *Postcolonial Disorders*, ed. Mary-Jo DelVecchio, Sandra Hyde, Sarah Pinto, and Byron Good (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 279–308.

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Many of the SCI's recommendations, including but also exceeding those related to land tenure, went on to become leading policies of the early republican regime.[6] And, finally, far from inimical to planter interests, the SCI actually helped shape them, serving as the incubator for a private colonization company established in São Paulo in 1886.

The real hindrances to SCI's vision lay not in planter opposition but in factors well beyond Brazilian borders. Eventually, the Italian Kingdom adopted emigration restrictions that significantly reduced the flow of Italian colonos, the SCI's main migrant pool. Scholars tend to attribute the restrictive Prinetti decree of 1903 to the Italian government's concern for reported abuses in Brazil. But a closer look reveals that Italian authorities' motives stemmed from a reconceptualization of migratory processes as business-oriented opportunities for national revenue as well as from the strategic use of migration as a bargaining tool in stalled negotiations for an Italo-Brazilian commercial treaty. In other words, thanks in part to the vision laid out by the SCI and its offshoots, Italian migrations became a crucible for state-level calculations on profits, revenues, and competitive advantages.

In the end, the situation arising from the famous Prinetti decree shone a light on the boundaries of corporate colonization boosterism in Brazil. It also threw into question whether abuses against colonos were sufficient in themselves to mobilize policy responses from their home states or whether larger geostrategic and economic concerns drove those responses. Yet the episode also illuminated the impressive resilience of the business of migrations and the regulations it spawned. As Italian arrivals slowed down, SCI-inspired policy transformations in the early republic opened the way for other migrations to carry forth.

HYBRIDIZING A NINETEENTH-CENTURY MODEL: THE SCI AS COMPANY, LOBBY, AND CULTURAL ASSOCIATION

The SCI differed from prior colonization enterprises in important respects. By statute, it was a civil association rather than a company, and it tiered membership into four classes on the basis of voluntary

[6] Michael Hall, "Reformadores de classe média no Império brasileiro: A Sociedade Central de Imigração," *Revista de História* 105, no. 1 (1976): 147–171; Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 98; Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 65–70.

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contributions rather than share purchases. Anyone contributing 10$ could become a member; those who paid 100$ rose to "redeemed associates" (*sócios remidos*), and to "well-deserving associates" if they offered 1:000$ or more. In addition, the General Assembly conferred honorary memberships.[7] In form and structure, then, the SCI set itself apart from the colonization companies of the previous half century by skirting the issue of profits and suspending internal voting hierarchies.

Despite the SCI's nonprofit character, its operations and policies stood to benefit its figureheads in various ways, as old enterprises did. The SCI's dashing vice-president, Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay, for instance, already possessed a distinguished lineage entangled with the history of Brazilian colonization. Both his grandfathers had long served Brazilian interests – Alexandre d'Escragnolle by accompanying prince regent João to Brazil in 1808 and Nicolas-Antoine Taunay as part of João VI's "French artistic mission" in 1816. Moreover, Taunay's uncle, Carlos Augusto de Taunay, had laid one of the cornerstones of colonization in Brazil with his 1834 address to the SIAN meeting that opened this book. Still, d'Escragnolle Taunay made a name for himself as first lieutenant and secretary to the conde d'Eu in the Paraguayan War and as author of *La retraite de Laguna*, a chronicle that won acclaim as the conflict raged. Later, he sat briefly for Goiás in the Chamber before receiving Santa Catarina's presidency in 1876 and leaving for Europe in 1877. From 1880–1884, he returned to the Chamber for Santa Catarina, championing SCI's sweeping migration, land, and naturalization reforms.[8]

Although d'Escragnolle Taunay lost a bid to represent Rio in 1885, he had his SCI work to recommend him, thanks to which he landed Paraná's presidency. In 1886, he made it back to the Chamber and was soon selected to the senate for Santa Catarina, using his pulpit to advance a reformist program resting on twin pillars – "European immigration, national colonization." Through this role, he aimed to naturalize foreigners en masse, adopt a homestead law modeled after Australia's Torrens Act, and overhaul the lei de locação de serviços of 1879, which he held responsible for the Heydt Rescript still being in force.[9] By the end of his

[7] *Estatutos da Sociedade Central de Immigração* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de Machado & C., 1884).

[8] Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay, *La retraite de Laguna* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographie Universelle de E. & H. Laemmert, 1868); Hall, "Reformadores."

[9] Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay, *Questões políticas e sociaes: Discursos* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de Leuzinger & Filhos, 1886), 20–21, 28; *Cartas políticas* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de Leuzinger & Filhos, 1889), 9–13.

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Paraná presidency, d'Escragnolle Taunay had started his own colony in the province of Espírito Santo, the "núcleo Barão de Taunay."

Others also reaped the fruits of SCI involvement, especially d'Escragnolle Taunay's own relatives, including a grand-uncle (SCI president Henrique Beaurepaire Rohan) and his brother Goffredo, who stood to benefit from land sales if SCI's policies of establishing land taxes to break up existing latifundia came through. Having obtained a special provincial subsidy from Espírito Santo in 1882, Goffredo had established a central coffee cleaning mill featuring his very own Taunay-Telles coffee dryer in the ex-colony of Leopoldina as its coffee planters' sold lands to colonos. The proliferation of small properties would in theory entail an expanded clientele for his mill. Clearly, self-interest informed the collective enterprise of the SCI especially around the more aristocratic members.[10]

International modernizing discourses of what French anthropologist Arthur Bordier called "scientific colonization" guided the SCI as much as individual entrepreneurialism and self-interest. By the 1880s, literature on colonization consistently defined its subject no longer as an art, as Edward Wakefield did earlier, but as a science, a tendency exemplified by Jules Duval's *Histoire de l'émigration* (1862) and later Paul Leroy-Beaulieu's *La colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (1866), both of which shared a belief that population movements could be directed and methodically perfected or, as the latter later asserted, replaced with movements of capital.[11] This streamlining of colonization as an applied science occurred across southern Europe and the Americas.[12] In Brazil, besides Menezes e Souza's *Theses sobre colonização* (1875), the work of Portuguese intellectual Augusto de Carvalho contributed decisively to colonization's development into an applied science. Flush with migration statistics, the first

[10] *The Rio News*, no. 15 (24 May 1882); *A Immigração*, nos. 3, 20 (Dec. 1883–Aug. 1884, May 1886).

[11] Edward G. Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization* (London: John W. Parker, 1849); Arthur Bordier, *La colonisation scientifique et les colonies françaises* (Paris: C. Reinwald, 1884); Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (Paris: Guillaumin et Cie., 1874). On Leroy-Beaulieu and his idea of "investment colonization," see David Todd, *A Velvet Empire: French Informal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 66–71.

[12] See, for example, the case of a Spanish journalist who seized a new lectureship on the "History and civilization of the English and Dutch possessions in Asia and Oceania" at the Universidad de Madrid in 1871, published a hefty compendium on the "art of colonization" focused on training Filipinos as public servants, and eventually became general director of development (*fomento*) in the Overseas ministry: Joaquín Maldonado Macanaz, *Principios generales del arte de la colonización* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Tello, 1875).

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volume of Carvalho's *O Brazil: Colonisação e emigração* (1875) surveyed private and state-led colonies ahead of a second volume on contracts and systems essayed in Brazil to that date. A third volume would have offered reform proposals for the problem of emigration but never went to press. This and similar publications served as reference works for new analyses of colonization and migration such a Rego Filho's comparative study of immigration to Brazil and the United States.[13]

Notably, the newer texts' eugenic and racist overtones distinguished them from earlier colonization literature and manifested in the SCI's rejection of Chinese and later African-American immigrants. Indeed, the SCI's racial biases merit a closer attention than that previously afforded by historians.[14] While blatant, its racism was also adaptably selective. The SCI reflected race science precepts and planters' general preference for white immigrants. The association was also rabidly anti-Chinese. At the same time, as part and parcel of its overlaps with the abolitionist movement, the SCI embraced Brazilian-born pardos, free Blacks, and soon-to-be freedmen and women as protagonists of its reform program. Moreover, the SCI counted among its membership distinguished pardo individuals who achieved great success in relation to the association's own goals. The prominent abolitionist André Rebouças, for instance, championed new kinds of establishments such as the 190-strong free-dpersons colony in the lands previously belonging to the countess of Rio Novo, which he visited with a special SCI commission in 1884. Such establishments became precursors to the orphanages Rebouças brazenly promoted after 1889 as pursuits that could usefully absorb the philanthropy of the "Brazilian plutocracy." By closely studying and promoting these alternative colonies as part of a broader policy platform, the SCI contributed directly to discussions that led to the Sexagenarian Law, which was approved shortly after Rebouças's visit to Rio Novo.[15]

[13] Souza, *Theses*; Augusto de Carvalho, *O Brazil: Colonisação e emigração* (Porto: Typographia de Bartholomeu H. de Moraes, 1875); José Pereira Rego Filho, *O Brazil e os Estados Unidos na questão da immigração* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1884).

[14] Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Célia Maria Marinho de Azevedo, *Onda negra, medo branco. O negro no imaginário das elites–século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1987).

[15] *A Immigração*, nos. 3, 8 (Dec. 1883–Aug. 1884, Jan. 1885); 20–21 July, *ACD* (1885), vol. 3, 16–21, 24–42; André Rebouças, *Orphelinato Gonçalves d'Araújo: Lemmas e contribuições para abolição da miséria* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de G. Leuzinger & Filhos, 1889).

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Ideas like Rebouças's acquired a life of their own that transcended racial identification. They became popular, in particular, among Portuguese expatriates wishing to bolster small property holding. In 1880, the Portuguese consul had publicly defended institutions like freedmen colonies or agricultural schools as stepping stones for emancipation. Thus, Portuguese-born doctor Valentim José da Silveira Lopes, a graduate of Bahia's medical school, offered the SCI a proposal for the Companhia Progresso Agrícola to train planters, colonos and national workers, including freedmen, in improvement methods in São Paulo. Some years later, a Portuguese-born Brazilian citizen tried to set up a company to start "burgos agrícolas" throughout the Empire with the SCI's blessing. However, Antonio Prado, then minister of Agriculture and head of a São Paulo planter dynasty, strenuously dissented, acting as spokesman for large landholders favoring land concentration.[16]

Scholars have paid close attention to the SCI as a forerunner to the era of mass migrations, straddling as it did the fall of the Empire in 1889 and the subsequent climb in migrant arrivals. But several misconceptions endure. One pertains to the nature of SCI membership, which was described by historian Michael Hall as conformed by a rising middle class of professionals. Certainly, many journalists, lawyers, and engineers who found it hard to elbow their way into government jobs reserved for the sons or in-laws of the more privileged channeled their energy and ideas through the SCI. Reared in literary salons, they shared with government officials the perception of immigration as a civilizing force.[17] However, in the SCI bulletin, they geared this mindset to endorse distributive and reformist interventions, including parceling large estates, taxing property, improving centers for immigrant reception, easing naturalization parameters, and approving civil marriage to the benefit of non-Catholic incomers. And, surprisingly, the high-ranking officeholders, noblemen, and extremely wealthy individuals who completed the SCI roster consented to these proposals, including the prominent "sons" who sat on the

[16] Domingos Maria Gonçalves, *A instrucção agrícola e o trabalho livre* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Central de Evaristo Rodrigues da Costa, 1880), v; Valentim José da Silveira Lopes, *Escolas agrícolas: breves considerações sobre colonisação dirigidas à Sociedade Central de Imigração do Rio de Janeiro* (Campinas: Typ. a vapor da "Gazeta," 1884); Manoel Gomes de Oliveira, *Burgos agrícolas* (Rio de Janeiro: Laemmert & C., 1886); 1–2 Oct. sessions, *AS*, vol. 6 (1888), 12–13, 24–26.

[17] Hall, "Reformadores de classe média." On salon culture and the intelectual background of this generation, see Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical* Belle Époque*: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

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board, men such as Beaurepaire Rohan, Rebouças, José Vergueiro, and Antônio Luís von Hoonholtz, the son of a Prussian engineer who served Pedro I during the Cisplatina war in 1827.

As available lists in *A Immigração* show, the SCI initially numbered 258 members, of whom 7 were beneméritos and 55 redeemed members. There were 8 barões, 3 viscondes, and 6 senators, among whom figured Silveira da Mota and the former president of São Paulo for 1882–1883. Membership included colonization polemicists such as Nicolau Moreira as well as commercial firms, the most prominent of which were H. Laemmert & C. and the Amazon Company. Prestigious scions graced the list, including the younger visconde de Barbacena, and Manuel Antônio Pimenta Bueno, son of José Antonio Pimenta Bueno, marquês de São Vicente. Besides a multitude of Germans, new foreign speculators such as Charles Linklater and his son joined older ones such as Herman Schlobach. Such diverse participation enlarged the SCI's ranks, which in 1887 expanded to 382 members, of whom 8 were beneméritos and 101 redeemed.

The SCI became one of the most durable colonization associations in Brazil, carrying its platform into the new Republic. At the heart of its resilience lay time-tested notions and policies.[18] Service contract laws and indigenous colonization also revived in the pages of the SCI's periodical. And most strikingly, like the ACC before it, the SCI spawned avatars all across Brazil starting in 1885, with immigration associations popping up in Porto Alegre and Pelotas in Rio Grande do Sul; Tubarão in Santa Catarina; Morretes, Curitiba, Campo Largo, Paranaguá, Guarapuava, Ponta Grossa, and Guaraquesava in Paraná; São Paulo, Campinas, Sorocaba, and Taubaté in São Paulo; Corumbá in Mato Grosso do Sul; and Ilhéus and Salvador in Bahia. Pará, Bahia, Espírito Santo, and Paraná also set up province-wide associations in their capitals. Eventually, even Maranhão published its own guide for migrants.[19]

Among regional associations, the ones in São Paulo evinced the greatest rate of development. At the hand of the wealthy Prado family, these societies came together in 1886 under the umbrella of a provincial conglomerate, the Sociedade Promotora de Imigração (SPI), buoyed by the provincial law of 28 Oct 1885 promising to reimburse travel costs to

[18] *A Immigração*, nos. 5–11 (Sept., Oct., Nov. 1884, Jan., Feb.–Mar., Apr., May–June 1885).

[19] *A província do Maranhão e a immigração: Guia do immigrante* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1888).

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colonos. Historians have remarked on the competition that arose between the Rio-based SCI and the São Paulo–based SPI, emphasizing the clash of visions regarding the role of the state and private capital in stoking and managing migratory flows.

Scholars agree that the SPI represented São Paulo coffee planters seeking to brush aside any government intervention in their labor recruitments abroad. Evidently, the Sexagenarian Law of 1885, shepherded by Antonio Prado as Agriculture minister, together with the abolitionist campaigns and mass walkouts of enslaved women and men from coffee plantations, threatened São Paulo's unrivaled productivity and lit planters' interest in seeking field hands in Europe. However, it serves to underline that the SCI and SPI had common ground and a common past as far as social linkages went. For instance, one of the board members of the SCI owned the Colégio Tautphoeus attended by Antonio Prado in his youth.[20] Far more significantly, however, was the fact that the SPI's component parts – the associations in Santos, Sorocaba, and the provincial capital – had in fact splintered from the larger, SCI-stoked constellation of immigration societies. In the main, then, the SPI derived directly from SCI endeavors.[21]

The SCI served as the origin point and conduit of other migration associations because it reprised and crowned eight-decades worth of colonization advocacy strategies. Its proposed reforms traced their language and content as far back as 1808 but melded the older language of peopling with vigorous calls for "liberating" (*libertar e povoar*).[22] The SCI also tracked the meetings and resolutions of German emigrant societies, as Olinda and other statesmen had done in the 1850s, and, just like them, d'Escragnolle Taunay pushed to repeal the Heydt Rescript. In all, the SCI bookended colonization ambitions harkening back to Brazilian independence. Invoking colonies like Blumenau and Dona Francisca and

[20] Isabella Paula Gaze, "Imigração e educação no município da Corte (1850–1889)" (PhD diss., UFF, 2018). For more on the Prados, see Darrell Levi, *The Prados of São Paulo, Brazil: An Elite Family and Social Change, 1840–1930* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1987).

[21] Salvio de Almeida Azevedo, "Imigração e colonização no estado de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo* 7, no. 75 (Apr. 1941): 105–158; Ivison Poleto dos Santos, "A Sociedade Promotora de Imigração: Formação e influência, 1886–1895," *Histórica: Revista on line do Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo* 3, no. 25 (Sept. 2007); Lesser, *Immigration*, 65–70; Rosa Guadalupe Soares Udaeta, "Nem Brás, nem Flores: hospedaria de imigrantes da cidade de São Paulo (1875–1886)" (MA thesis, USP, 2013).

[22] *A Immigração*, no. 4 (Dec. 1883–Aug. 1884).

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putting to rest any support for Chinese migrations, the SCI recalibrated colonization toward a post-abolition future.[23]

The SCI's strategic focus on immigration allowed it to strategically update substantive regulatory questions. In 1885, one board member drafted a new emigrant transport ordinance that set a high bar of 300 passengers for emigrant steamships to be considered as such, expanded levy exemptions, reset fines, and offered new prescriptions relative to health and hygiene aboard vessels. *A Immigração* also revisited colonization companies, issuing a model prospectus for the incorporation of regional "immigration companies." With a capital floor of 10 contos and a very modest universal share price (10$) "within the reach of lesser economies," these companies concurrently functioned as immigration enterprises, savings banks, and mutual aid societies. This new colonization company model would also rely on immigrants themselves as agents for recruiting their countrymen.[24]

At the dawn of the belle époque, SCI ideations primed Brazil for the era of mass migrations by building on the foundational precedent set by colonization. At a personal level, the association cemented its most distinguished members' reputations and perpetuated their self-flattering appraisals of immigrant legacies. Koseritz, for instance, helped consolidate the image of German colonos as well behaved while Taunay himself devised a list of "illustrious foreigners" in 1894.[25] Meanwhile, spaces emblematically championed by the SCI underwent significant makeovers. After initial drawbacks, the hospedaria at Ilha das Flores, for example, became a top-of-the-line migrant processing center while the Agriculture ministry led new incomers to it with the help of a *Guia do Emigrante* translated into German, Italian and French.[26] Entry logs became a mainstay – by 1887, the hospedaria welcomed 38,680 migrants. Mortality rates dipped except for babies. In 1891, two years after a republican coup ousted the imperial government, a total of 191,151 migrants landed in

[23] Hall, "Reformadores"; Arthur Daltin Carrega, "As propagandas imigrantistas do Brasil no século XIX: O caso da Sociedade Central de Imigração," *Patrimônio e Memória* 15, no. 2 (2019): 154–171.

[24] *A Immigração*, nos. 8, 16 (Jan., Dec. 1885).

[25] Visconde de Taunay, "Estrangeiros illustres e prestimosos que concorreram, com todo o esforço e dedicação, para o engrandecimento intellectual, artístico, moral, militar, litterário, económico, industrial, commercial e material do Brazil, desde os princípios deste século até 1892," *RIHGB* 58, no. 2 (1895): 225–248.

[26] Francisco de Barros e Accioli de Vasconcellos, *Guia do emigrante para o Império do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1884); João Ferreira de Moura, *Relatório da Agricultura* (1884), 352.

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Rio and 25,503 in Santos, totaling 216,659 arrivals for that year alone. Lucrative modernization efforts included the installation of water ducts and sewage pipes in the island by 1900.[27]

The SCI also prepared Brazil for a post-abolition future of similarly technocratic tenor. While its periodical did not overtly discuss the Sexagenarian Law of 1885, it did refer to freedmen and the necessary means to offer them land allotments or work contracts, particularly in the discussions of the Sociedade Bahiana de Imigração and the efforts of its members to establish colonies with nationals.[28] As members discussed freedmen colonies or dual foreign/national colonies, they brought colonization processes previously focused on foreigners full circle to national domestic populations, envisioning agricultural education for freedmen against the grain of conceits positing European immigrants' superior agrarian knowledge or craft skills.

CROSSING THE THRESHOLD OF MASS MIGRATIONS: THE PANGS OF REGULATION

With the republic came a statutory revolution that in many ways realized the SCI's policy wish list and led Brazil past the threshold and into the era of mass migrations. One day to the month after the proclamation of the Republic, for example, the provisional government of Deodoro da Fonseca approved a blanket naturalization decree conferring Brazilian citizenship to all foreigners resident in Brazil as of 15 Nov. 1889 (and up to 1891) unless they expressly stated their preference to preserve their original nationality in the presence of municipal authorities within a six-month period. Subsequently, they could also reject becoming Brazilian nationals before a notary, chief of police, or consular agent. The Constitution of February 1891 formalized this prescriptive naturalization approved "in the spirit of broad hospitality" under the new Foreign minister, Quintino Bocaiúva, the SII's colonization agent in New York in 1867 (see Chapter 7).[29]

[27] ANd, OB.0.EPE, HIF.41, "Registro da entrada dos imigrantes: Ilha das Flores" (1890); OG.0.MAP.136, The Rio de Janeiro City Improvements Company, Limited, "Copia da planta Saneamento da Ilha das Flores" (1900); Teresa Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889–1930* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 75–94.

[28] "Sociedade Bahiana de Immigração. Acta de installação," *A Immigração*, no. 21 (June 1886).

[29] Decree no. 58-A (14 Dec.), *Decisões do governo provisório* (1889), 251–252.

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Within the first year of the Republic, numerous other laws followed the SCI's program. The "Torrens Law" of May 1890 and ulterior decrees regulating its rapid implementation sought to streamline processes of land surveying and demarcation, titling, and transference, thus facilitating the organization of colonial nuclei, as colonies were now called, around the principle of small-holding. The Torrens Law heeded SCI calls for landed property reform that appeared unattainable but a few years prior. Moreover, it responded, finally, to land distribution schemes explored by Brazilian lawmakers since the very moment of Brazilian independence and dovetailed with reformist efforts such as those led by jurisconsult Augusto Teixeira de Freitas, who in 1882 produced an annotated compendium of landed property laws that dealt extensively with regulations for state-run colonies and naturalization, and included land-titling prototypes for colonos that served as models for the SCI during its early days.[30]

Procedural and institutional changes accompanying these new republican laws further bolstered migration management. A new ordinance regulating overseas transportation and hiring of immigrants updated passenger limits and imposed strict sanitary and hygienic measures aboard steamships. A reorganized General Inspectorate of Lands and Colonization completed the picture. In its streamlined form, the first of its four sections would focus on landed property, including in new foreign colonies, while the second section centered exclusively on immigration oversight. In 1890, a total of 107,100 immigrants arrived in Brazil via Rio de Janeiro, Santos, and Porto Alegre. This was the second largest number of entries for any single year since Brazilian independence, right behind 1888, when 131,745 immigrants had landed.[31]

It is important to pause, however, and examine the significance of the new ordinance regulating immigrant transports. It represented the first formal statute in Brazil that explicitly barred Africans qua immigrants (the trafficking bans of 1831 and 1850 had prohibited the importation of *enslaved* Africans), and it was also the first to officialize anti-Asian

[30] Decrees no. 451-B (31 May); no. 720 (5 Sept.); no. 955-A (5 Nov.), *Decisões do governo provisório* (1890), 1195–1220, 2131–2141, 3298–3327; Augusto Teixeira de Freitas, *Terras e colonisação* (Rio de Janeiro: B. L Garnier, 1882). Freitas also played a key role in efforts to draft a civil code during the Empire. See Keila Grinberg, *A Black Jurist in a Slave Society: Antonio Pereira Rebouças and the Trials of Brazilian Citizenship*, trans. Kristin M. McGuire (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019 [2002]), 126–145.

[31] Decree no. 603 (26 July 1890), *Decisões do governo provisório*, 1634–1646; barão de Lucena, *Relatório da Agricultura* (1891), 102–108.

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restrictions. Known as the Glicério Law in acknowledgment of its chief promoter, then Agriculture minister Francisco Glicério, this decree epitomized a salient SCI motif. As its first article stated, besides criminals, any "indigenes" from Asian or African countries could only enter Brazil with direct authorization from the National Congress. Criminals were the only other class of immigrants with similarly stringent restrictions.

While scholars have remarked that the Glicério Law congealed racial selection parameters long held by Brazilian lawmakers and migration promoters, the law in fact lacked statutory precedent. Nor did it become a far-reaching precedent itself, as two years later a new law overrode some of its provisions. Under a new administration, in 1892 the Brazilian government authorized the entry of Chinese and Japanese subjects in order to honor the Sino-Brazilian Treaty of 1880 and to open the way for a treaty with Japan, which was signed in 1895. Hence, while racism tinged the Glicério law, it did so formally only for a limited time before quota restrictions took shape in the 1920s and '30s – an important point to make given that the continued scholarly focus on "whitening" as the guidepost for colonization and immigration promotion. As it did here, peopling for profit often took precedence over racial selection in statutory form.[32]

With the aim, precisely, of "peopling our most vast territory," Agriculture minister Henrique Pereira de Lucena, barão de Lucena, organized a special commission in 1891 to improve immigration and colonization services while decentralizing government controls. The goal was to "circumscribe federal intervention as much as possible." The commission was notable on a couple of counts, the first of which was its strong northeastern accent. To begin with, as an Olinda Law school graduate from 1858, Lucena came from the marquês de Olinda's world. Moreover, as the commission's director, he chose José Avelino Gurgel do Amaral, a journalist and deputy who started out as a liberal in the late 1860s before seeking the patronage of reformist conservative João Alfredo in the 1870s, and ultimately becoming a close collaborator of Rebouças, José do Patrocínio, and other abolitionists.[33] As a Cearense, Amaral seemed an unorthodox pick to lead an immigration commission,

[32] Decree no. 528 (28 June 1890), *Decisões do governo provisório*, 1424–1433; Law no. 97 (5 Oct. 1892), *Colleção das leis da República dos Estados Unidos do Brazil* (1892), vols. 1–2, 104; Cook-Martín and FitzGerald, *Culling the Masses*, 259–298.

[33] *JC*, no. 104 (15 Apr. 1891); A. G. de Miranda Azevedo, *Mortos illustres, 1900–1901* (São Paulo: Typographia do "Diário Official," 1902), 91–94; UFPEd, Memorial Denis Bernardes, Conselheiro João Alfredo-corresp. recebidas, Gurgel do Amaral to João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira (10 Dec. 1881, 25 Dec. 1882); Jeffrey Needell, *The Sacred*

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considering the general boosterism that favored southern and southeastern Brazil. Yet, the northeast was not entirely behind the rush to create structures of migrant reception. The state of Pernambuco, for instance, expediently organized its own immigration service after 1890 to oversee the núcleo colonial Suassuna and the hospedaria da Jaqueira. In Maranhão, instead of a state-level regulatory office, a private enterprise, the General Improvements Company, launched its own colony.[34] Still, with Amaral as its head, the commission embodied an official interest in bringing the northeast up to speed in immigration reception capacities.

Another member of the commission brought the far north to the heart of deliberations. Salvatore Nicosia was an Italian merchant and publicist with business dealings in Pará that included importing Italian colonos. Nicosia reflected an essential characteristic of the commission: its pairing of regulatory efforts to profiteering. Having married a Brazilian after serving as Uruguay's consul in Perú, Nicosia partook in a few SCI meetings in 1890 before receiving the invitation to join the commission. Already, he had found a lucrative niche both in Belém and in Rio where, together with Italian partners, he secured a contract for a Metropolitan Rail while cozying up to figures like Rui Barbosa, whose plan for a National Mortgage Bank he publicly supported. All of this was possible thanks to the speculation fostered by the new Republican government that preached integrity as it spawned its own patronage networks. Nicosia himself praised Lucena for his "moralizing administration, destroying the old camorras that secretly watched over contracts." He also stood by Lucena and other government officials at the inauguration of construction works for the new Metropolitan Rail line, offering pen and inkblot for them to sign the official record of attendance.[35]

Steeped in Leroy-Beaulieu, Nicosia wrote a lengthy address to his colleagues in the commission in which he synthesized what was needed to secure immigration: a powerful banking institution, demarcated plots,

Cause: The Abolitionist Movement, Afro-Brazilian Mobilization, and Imperial Politics in Rio de Janeiro (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2021), 112–114.

[34] Luiz de Castro Gonçalvez, *Regimento interno da Delegacia da Inspectoria Geral de Terras e Colonisação do Estado de Pernambuco* (Pernambuco: Typographia Industrial, 1891); Companhia Geral de Melhoramentos no Maranhão, *Núcleo agrícola Pericuman, situado no valle do rio deste nome no Estado do Maranhão da República do Estados Unidos do Brazil (América do Sul); breve notícia e condicções* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Comp. Lytho-Typographica, 1891); Peter Eisenberg, *The Sugar Industry in Pernambuco: Modernization Without Change, 1840–1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 201–203.

[35] *Diário de Notícias*, no. 1867 (6 Aug. 1890); *O Paíz*, no. 3420 (7 Sept. 1891).

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a permanent land and colonization commission, stronger oversight of contracts, official propaganda delegated to young journalists, and new agricultural schools.[36] If tried and tested, these proposed initiatives remained lofty in the unstable political atmosphere that enveloped the early republic. Indeed, within seven months of the commission's activation, a military coup led by Floriano Peixoto dashed its objectives. Yet, as Lucena's web dissipated with Deodoro da Fonseca's government, the business schemes already underway found the means to persevere. In 1891, for instance, a Minas Gerais magistrate, Francisco Alvares da Silva Campos, and his son submitted a proposal to Lucena to start a colonization enterprise aligned with many of the commission's recommendations. Its proponents pleaded for the continuation of government subsidies to cover colonos' travel costs and for the central government to rear agricultural companies while refraining from a direct participation in those businesses. In 1894, two years after the coup, the same individuals forwarded a colonization project to the Chamber of Deputies, bringing the resilience and obduracy of colonization schemes to high relief.[37]

Nicosia also weathered the political turn. After 1892, he continued to work his way among the powerful as a journalist in *O Paíz*, and as correspondent for the *New York Herald*, the Argentine *Prensa*, and the Chilean *Tarde* in Rio and the *Jornal do Brazil* in Pará. Despite allegations that he called Brazilian people "burros" in the inauguration ceremony for the Metropolitan line, he ingratiated himself with the new Republican intelligentsia. On a parade of the Italian community marking the 57th anniversary of the Farroupilha in 1892, he perorated from the balcony of the offices of *O Paíz* in honor of Quintino Bocaiúva, who was not even in attendance. Availing himself of government favors, he set out in 1898 to organize two colonies: Anita Garibaldi and Ianetama, in Castanhal, Pará. During a migrant recruitment trip to Italy, Nicosia proved persuasive but not nearly enough. While he received, and turned down, an invitation

[36] Salvatore Nicosia, *Immigração e colonisação. Relatório apresentado à Commissão especial organisadora do serviço de immigração e colonisação para os Estados Unidos do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Montenegro, 1891), 171–172; Ausonio Latini, *La questione italiana al Brasile* (Rio de Janeiro, 1896), 29–33; Angelo Trento, *Do outro lado do Atlântico: um século de imigração italiana no Brasil* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1989), 103–106.

[37] Jacintho Alvares F. da Silva and Francisco Alvares da Silva Campos, *Projecto de colonisacão apresentado ao Congresso Nacional do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Jornal do Commércio de Rodrigues & C., 1891); *Relatório e synopse dos trabalhos da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados relativos ao anno de 1894* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1895), 4, 160.

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from a political party to run as deputy for Messina, the Italian government refused to support his colonies, claiming Pará's climate was inadequate for Italians.[38] Nevertheless, by 1904, Ianetama and Anita Garibaldi figured among 11 núcleos coloniais selling lands in Pará.[39] Whereas São Paulo received the largest share of foreign, particularly Italian, immigrants in the 1890s, Nicosia's story shows that other regions of Brazil were still very much in the game despite political odds, even if desired outcomes remained beyond reach.

The change to a new regime concretized many of the policies lobbied for by the SCI. Nonetheless, the formulation and enactment of new migration-related measures remained very much in flux in those early years of the new government. Far from a steady regulatory development, policy reverses as with the Glicério Law, and policy commissions shuttered due to political shifts laid bare the pangs of regulation in the very midst of the era of mass migrations. These domestic troubles dragged on in the early republic, but were soon overshadowed by a greater hindrance when Italy, the main source of colonos for Brazil, approved a potent emigration restriction decree.

ITALIAN COUNTERPOINTS: THE MANY FACES OF THE PRINETTI DECREE

In 1902, the Italian government issued a ban on subsidized migration to Brazil known as the Prinetti decree after its author, Foreign Affairs minister Giulio Nicolò Prinetti. Migration from Italy continued, though none of it could be pre-arranged or paid for by Brazilian recruiters. A serious setback for Paulista planters and other pro-immigration advocates, this restrictive measure laid bare the international barriers blocking the fulfillment of SCI legacies. But the Prinetti decree did not signify that the SCI platform had failed or that planters' and recruiters' abuses had ultimately eclipsed the achievements of the SCI apostolate – though such abuses are often seen as the primary motivation behind the ban. Instead, the Prinetti decree demonstrated that investigations into abuses by

[38] *O Paíz*, nos. 3426, 3795 (13 Sept. 1891, 21 Sept. 1892); *O Pará*, nos. 342, 350, 439, 482 (19, 28 Jan., 19 May, 13 July 1899); *República* (PA), no. 119 (27 June 1899); Franco Cenni, *Italianos no Brasil: "Andiamo in 'Merica-"* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2003), 197–198.

[39] *República* (PA), nos. 42, 177 (7 Apr., 27 Sept. 1899); José Paes de Carvalho, *Mensagem dirigida ao Congresso do Estado do Pará* (Belém: Typ. do Diário Official, 1900), 71–72; Augusto Montenegro, *Mensagem dirigida em 7 de setembro de 1904 ao Congresso Legislativo do Pará* (Belém: Imprensa Official, 1904), 58.

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themselves did not trigger migration interdictions that in turn entailed hefty diplomatic consequences. Abuses did call forth Italian investigators. But ultimately it was the failed commercial treaty negotiations with Brazil that catalyzed the Prinetti ban. The failed negotiations amply demonstrated that migration could be weaponized in the quest for greater national revenues. And greater revenue hinged on exploiting emigration as both a colonial and national enterprise, as the Italian Kingdom sought to do.

The story of the ban began in part with a report by Adolfo Rossi, a native of the Veneto region who had emigrated to the United States and became chief editor of the *Corriere della Sera* after returning to Italy. As a special commissioner of the Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione established in 1901 in the Italian Foreign ministry, Rossi inspected the hospedaria at Santos and then headed northwest from São Paulo to coffee fazendas as far west as São José do Rio Preto. Rossi's field reports confirmed the hardships encountered by Italian colonos across the state: unpaid wages and mistreatment from their patrons. Italian coffee pickers who protested wage withholding often received death threats in exchange. When pressed by diplomatic agents, planters in turn offered vague promises of later payment, which went largely unfulfilled – a reflection of their casual reliance on colono work as a substitute for credit. Conversely, the consul in Recife reported receiving no complaints from the 13,700 Italians in northern and northeastern states during his first few months on the job, a reflection that "the actions of local authorities are correct and inspired in a feeling of justice" as well as of the "good quality of the Italian immigrants."[40]

In the main, then, with São Paulo absorbing the vast majority of Italian migrants, the abuses resonated as particularly glaring. But, considering that in some regions Italians were doing well, abuses did not yet elicit a blanket prohibition of subsidized migration to all of Brazil. However, the Italian government had consistently raised its guard against the peasant recruitment onslaught led by the likes of Antonio Prado. The mounting wave of directed emigration imperiled not only the protectionism of the new Italian government of 1887, as historian Antonio Annino remarked decades ago, but also minister Francesco Crispi's expansionist plans in the Horn of Africa. Almost a full year before the abolition of slavery in Brazil,

[40] R. Agnoli, "Gli italiani nel nord del Brasile," and Attilio Monaco, "L'immigrazione italiana nello stato di San Paolo del Brasile," *Bollettino dell'Emigrazione*, no. 8 (1902): 22–30, 31–53; Adolfo Rossi, "Condizioni dei coloni italiani nello Stato di San Paolo (Brasile)," *Bollettino dell'Emigrazione*, no. 7 (1902): 3–87; Gianpaolo Romanato, "Le molte vite di Adolfo Rossi: emigrante, giornalista, ispettore, diplomático," *Zibaldone: Estudios Italianos* 3, no. 1 (2015): 111–121.

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Crispi forwarded a law project to the Camera dei Deputati that signaled a desire to stem migratory flows. Objections to the slow pace of discussions emphasized that, while benefiting Brazil, "the state from which this current flows provides no profit." Like "arresting the eruption of a volcano or the wave-like movement of the sea," keeping emigrants from leaving was to no avail, according to the jurist and deputy Attilo Brunilati. Brunilati, notably, had supported spontaneous colonization toward South America since his heyday directing the *Giornale delle Colonie*, the periodical of the Società Geografica Italiana founded in 1867. But the disquieting rhythm of exits compelled even enthusiasts like him to support curtailing the peasant exodus and the losses it entailed for the Italian economy.

At the close of 1888, Crispi sanctioned a groundbreaking law that followed the largely liberal but strongly regulatory turn suggested by Brunilati. The law established strict oversight over agents and recruiters, who now required a patent from the Foreign ministry or a license from local authorities. It also abolished parceria contracts, imposing fines on governments or colonization companies offering any advances to emigrants. It established parameters for damages owed to emigrants due to stopovers or unforeseen nautical problems. And at least in appearance it liberalized the right to exit. "All emigration," read its first article, "is free, except for the obligations imposed on citizens by existing laws." Among those exceptions figured men under 28 obligated to military service.[41] This particular prescription acquired imperial connotations when Italy formalized the colony of Eritrea in 1890 in line with the expansionist discourses the Società Geografica had long fostered. Vigilance over military service of would-be emigrants loosened only after the disastrous defeat of Italian forces in Adwa, Ethiopia, in 1896, which foreclosed colonial ambitions for some time.[42]

[41] Law no. 5866 (30 Dec. 1888), *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia*; Attilo Brunialti, "L'ésodo degli italiani e la legge sull'emigrazione," *Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 100, no. 16 (1888): 96–114.

[42] Antonio Annino, "El debate sobre la emigración y la expansión a la América Latina en los orígenes de la ideología imperialista en Italia (1861–1911)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas – Anuario de Historia de América Latina* 13, no. 1 (1976): 189–215; Daniele Natili, *Un programma coloniale: La Società Geografica Italiana e le origini dell'espansione in Etiopia (1867–1884)* (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2008); Mark Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 35–54; Raymond Jonas, *The Battle of Adwa: African Victory in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

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For critics like jurist and statistician Augusto Bosco di Ruffino, emigration regulations in Italy were a dead letter. Abuses carried on, and emigration companies and speculators continued their deceptions unimpeded until new efforts to enact effective emigration regulations got underway with the parliament of 1896. At that point, Bosco and others not only advocated for more resolute oversight over the nautical industry by standardizing and limiting freight costs to the benefit of passengers but got the opportunity to enact this and other measures with the promulgation of the Emigration Law of 31 January 1901.[43] The new statute established the Emigration Commissariat, which began issuing tables establishing the maximum ticket prices allowed for the Transatlantic steamship lines authorized to operate in Italian ports.[44] Bosco became its vice-commissary. His longtime mentor, Luigi Bodio, who had headed statistical services for the Italian ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce since 1873, and oversaw the General Directorate of Statistics from 1883, served as lead commissary.[45]

Under the direction of figures like Bodio and Bosco, emigration wed data and policymaking in Italy. The new *Bollettino dell'emigrazione* published by the Commissariat periodically until 1927 became the principal means for the dissemination of freight price controls, migration statistics, ordinances, and accounts of Italians' experiences in the United States, South Africa, Egypt, Argentina, Mexico, Cuba, and, of course, Brazil. Emigration also brought together disparate interests. In particular, Bodio attempted to bridge the gap between protectionist sectors that sought to curtail emigration and the imperialists and liberals who saw emigration as a means to bolster Italian shipping and secure a foothold in Africa. At the time, landholders entertained the notion of an internal colonization. Some advocates even borrowed from Brazilian experience

[43] Augusto Bosco, *La legge e la questione dell'emigrazione in Italia* (Bologna: Tipografia Alfonso Garagnani e Figli, 1900).

[44] "Legge sulla emigrazzione," no. 23 (31 Jan. 1901), *Raccolta ufficiale delle leggi e del decreto del Regno d'Italia* (Rome: Stamperia Ufficiale, 1901), vol. 1, 50–78; Mattia Vitiello, "La configurazione della legislazione emigratoria in Italia all'epoca della grande emigrazione europea," in *Um passaporte para a terra prometida*, 535–556.

[45] Marco Soresina, "Italian Emigration Policy during the Great Migration Age, 1888–1919: The Interaction of Emigration and Foreign Policy," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 21, no. 5 (2016): 723–746; John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 103–105; Antonio Cappiello, "Luigi Bodio: Promoter of the Political and High Scientific Mission of Statistics and Pioneer of the International Statistical Cooperation," *Rivista Italiana di Economia Demografia e Statistica* 68, nos. 3–4 (2014): 199–205.

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in alluding to sharecropping (*mezzadria*) or parceria colonies (*colonias parziarias*) as ideals for the occupation of uncultivated lands in the Mezzogiorno. Angelo Guffanti, an agrarian booster who owned lands in the Staffora valley north of Genoa, also called for large landholders to adopt colonias parziarias to end unemployed peasants' seasonal migration to Turin.[46]

Bodio responded to these concerns seriously and rigorously, calculating that available uncultivated land would only suffice for 280,000 coloni, or the equivalent of the number of exits for one or two years. This ostensible limitation in the carrying capacity of unused lands rendered senseless any idea of halting emigration.[47] Yet the emergent policy framework integrated rather than swept aside landowners' concerns. Two days following the enactment of the 1901 Emigration Law, another law mandating protections over emigrant savings and remittances from abroad bestowed primary responsibilities for managing them to the Banco di Napoli. A few months later, the Banco di Napoli was also authorized to offer agricultural credit to Italian landholders, right before the law mandating the execution of the Emigration Law was approved. The synchrony and overlap among government dependencies and institutions such as the Banco di Napoli began to signal that emigration no longer had to divide those who looked at it as a resource drain and those who saw it as a necessary prime for Italian global ambitions.[48]

The Prinetti decree targeting subsidized migration to Brazil in 1902 fit oddly within this thickening trelliswork of emigration laws, commercial incentives, imperial aims, and agrarian development policies in the Kingdom of Italy. But the unusually restrictive measure makes sense when seen as a strategic response to diverse concerns by a budding Commissariat vested in both the welfare and the value of Italians abroad. Significantly, with its eye set on the future, the decree came at the pinnacle of ongoing negotiations for the renewal of an Italo-Brazilian commercial

[46] Angelo Guffanti, *La colonizzazione dei terreni incolti in Italia e la leggi agrarie allo scopo* (Stradella: Tipo-litografia di Pietri Salvini, 1900), 164–166; "Esposizione ampelografica di Pavia," *Giornale di agricoltura, industria e commercio del regno d'Italia* 14, no. 28 (1877): 406–407.

[47] Luigi Bodio, "Dell'emigrazione italiana e dell'applicazione della legge 31 gennaio 1901," *Bolletinno del'emigrazione* 8 (1902): 3–21.

[48] Law no. 24 (1 Feb.), and Law no. 334 (7 July), *Raccolta ufficiale* (1901), vol. 1, 79–82; vol. 3, 2546–2548; the latter also in *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, no. 173 (20 July 1901); Laura Manfredotti, "Le rimesse degli emigrante italiani negli Stati Uniti d'America. Analisi del ruolo del Banco di Napoli attraverso i suoi correspondenti (1901–1915)" (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Napoli "Frederico II," 2011).

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treaty. In fact, besides Rossi's reports from São Paulo, the most prevalent type of reference to Italy in Brazilian official communications (and to Brazil in Italian reports) pertained to the terms and proposals for this treaty, which never materialized. As Prinetti himself explained to the Italian minister in Rio days after issuing the decree, "suspending free emigration was decided upon at this moment because with the termination of the old contract a new one has yet to be stipulated, therefore this provision does not have any serious consequence as it represents a prudent prevention to what may come and first opportune notice for the Brazilian government to modify its attitude."[49]

Yet, while business trumped most other considerations, the Italian government did not wholly abandon a concern over the issues threatening the well-being of its subjects abroad. Throughout 1902, for instance, the *Bollettino* announced preventive sanitary measures in response to reports of bubonic plague and smallpox in several Brazilian ports.[50] In this sense, the Prinetti decree also served as an emergency prophylactic, responding with particular urgency to epidemic outbreaks rather than to abuses themselves. Still, while these sanitary crises passed, the commercial treaty still failed to materialize, and so the decree remained in place until 1921, signaling the predominance of economic considerations over incidental migratory matters.

Compared to Italy, its elusive commercial partner and top source of migrant workers, the Brazilian Republic struggled to consolidate the institutionalizing push of the early 1890s. The groundbreaking laws approved under Deodoro da Fonseca continuously stumbled for years, complicating the transfer of migration management to state governments. Critics like Elpidio de Mesquita cut through the fog to reveal the juridically inconsistent and often even illegitimate management of migratory issues. In 1895, for instance, Mesquita vehemently protested the arbitrary detention and summary deportation of 16 foreigners of various nationalities held as political prisoners.[51] This was nothing short of a draconian

[49] Foreign minister Giulio Prinetti to Italian minister in Rio Friozzi di Cariati (8 Apr. 1902), in Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *I documenti diplomatici italiani* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1985), vol. 6 (1 Jan.–30 June 1902), 236. See also the inter-governmental correspondence included in José Maria da Silva Paranhos, *Relatório das Relações Exteriores* (1904), 135–141.

[50] *Bollettinno del'emigrazione* 4 (1902): 74.

[51] *Gazeta de Notícias*, no. 258 (16 Sept. 1894), *Diário de Pernambuco*, no. 212 (18 Sept. 1894); Elpidio de Mesquita, *Estrangeiros expulsos: Violação do habeas-corpus* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Mont'Alverne, 1895). Mesquita also represented Licinio Clímaco Barbosa, Rui Barbosa's half-brother and another political prisoner.

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application of the lessons learned with regard to the planned movement of populations and of foreigners in particular.

This infrequent shift from using logistical capacities originally intended to bringing *in* special groups or classes of people to use them for expulsions or degredos found its inflection point in mass removals to the territory of Acre in the early 1900s. As revealed by historian Francisco Bento da Silva, authorities in Rio took to removing anywhere from 1,453 to 1,647 of the working-class participants of the vaccine revolt in 1904 to the westernmost Amazonian region of Acre, which many took to calling Brazil's "tropical Siberia." In 1910, 436 sailors involved in the Revolta da Chibata (Revolt of the Whip) suffered the same fate. It was no coincidence that, at the time, Acre was contentious territory over which Brazil and Bolivia had yet to draw a boundary. Populating these contested borderlands with sailors and carioca expatriates calculatedly strengthened Brazilian claims.[52]

Deferring non-punitive colonization and immigration logistics to state governments conjured new blunders. Mesquita, again, offered a telling example when he defended Vittorio Carenzi Gallesi, an emigration agent who had directed northern Italian colonos to Brazil since 1888. Having secured a contract to supply 20,000 immigrants for Minas Gerais who would go into the employ of the new Companhia Metropolitana, Carenzi Gallesi began recruitment activities and was in a good place to fulfill his contract given that Italians still constituted the largest group of incomers in 1895 and most of them were still exiting from Genoa, which he knew from experience. Having prepared the first group of one thousand for embarkation, the agent of the Metropolitana shipping company refused to board them at the expense of the Brazilian government, arguably because he had not received any orders to do so. Minas authorities responded to a couple of Carenzi Gallesi's requests for contract extensions but turned a deaf ear to his questions about indemnification.[53]

The very political form of the early republic arced tensely over these inconsistencies. As the dust of early power contests settled, Minas Gerais and São Paulo became the gatekeepers of the new political compact,

[52] Gregório Thaumaturgo de Azevedo, *O Acre: Limites com a Bolívia* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do "Jornal do Commércio," 1901); Nicolau Sevcenko, *A revolta da vacina* (São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2010 [1984]); Francisco Bento da Silva, *Acre, a Sibéria tropical: desterros para as regiões do Acre em 1904 e 1910* (Manaus: UEA Edições, 2013).

[53] *Il Brasile: Rivista Mensile* 2, no. 12 (15 Dec. 1888): 992–996; *Bollettino del Ministero degli Affari Esteri* 31, no. 87 (July 1896): 47–51; Elpidio de Mesquita, *Questão Carenzi Gallesi* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. da Companhia de Loterias Nacionaes do Brazil, 1899).

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taking turns in directing a hollowed out federal administration. Migrants continued to land in Brazil even as policy areas previously under central government control precipitated into state-level jurisdictions. But especially in the economic upswing that preceded Afonso Pena's presidency, the central government continued to operate not only as arbiter of new colonization proposals but also as broker among entrepreneurs, diplomats, state-level lawmakers, and national statesmen. A naturalized Brazilian from Italy by the name of Pedro Setragni, for instance, sent a "new colonization plan" to president-elect Pena in 1905 that had stalled in a lame-duck state-level congressional session in Paraná. Adhering to the late Nicolau Vergueiro's colonization system of "agglomeration" – that is, of territorial occupation around population centers and communication networks – Setragni proposed attracting migrants with offers of land and a robust propaganda campaign based on the distribution of his pamphlet at the International Exposition in Milan. Where Paranaense lawmakers had failed to act, Setragni hoped Pena would step in to vigorously promote his plan both in Paraná and abroad.[54]

Brazilian politicians experienced in colonization continued to see the central government as an important concessionary. Antonio Prado, for example, also wrote to Pena in 1907 to introduce him to a longtime acquaintance, José Antunes dos Santos, whose ample knowledge on immigration would serve the government's interest in "peopling new territory." It went without mention that dos Santos served as an SPI recruiter. He netted up to 4,600 Portuguese islanders by 1888 and obtained state-level contracts under the Republic while at the helm of São Paulo's leading migrant recruitment firms at least until 1901.[55] And if the Republic gave ample room to colonization associates of old, it also opened the door to new overseas proponents. Returning from the second Peace Conference in The Hague in 1908, Rui Barbosa wrote to President Pena to forward a proposal from his friend, the Colombia delegate Santiago Pérez Triana. The Colombian journalist wished to introduce Barbosa to the representative of the South American Corporation. This British company interested in immigration to Brazil was headed by a Scotsman who had served as commissioner of Crown Lands and Public

[54] Pedro Setragni, *Novo Plano de Colonização* (Curitiba, 1905), ANd-ON.o.POF.46/8.

[55] Antonio Prado to president of the Republic of Brazil Afonso Pena (18 Jan. 1907), ANd, ON.o.COR.24/180; Gonçalves, "Mercadores de braços," 190–212. By the 1890s, Antunes dos Santos partnered with Angelo Fiorita, who had also served the SPI in Minas Gerais in the 1880s and worked as recruiter in Italy. See Nicosia, *Immigração*, 126–131.

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Works in the Cape of Good Hope under Cecil Rhodes and for whom Brazil may have been something like a promising colonial outpost.[56]

Regional and global rapprochements to the central state suggest that important aspects of government authority washed away from Rio only on paper. Indeed, efforts to centralize migration persisted. In 1907, a new government dependency, the Directoria Geral do Serviço de Povoamento (the General Directorate of Peopling Service) rekindled the centralizing impetus of the SCI under the axiom of peopling. Almost 20 years after the abolition of slavery, managed migrations and colonization thus staged a comeback that invoked the centenary beginnings of both policy applications back to 1808, when population and territory became the pillars of defense, diplomacy, and the political economy of a new tropical empire. Reorganized in 1911 as the National Soil Peopling Service, this new office instituted the Immigration Service, which put the central government in charge of immigrant reception in the federal capital of Rio de Janeiro. In addition, it set the rules governing state-led colonies and colonization endeavors led by transport, land, and other kinds of private companies. In short order, then, this new government agency, overseen by none other than transport minister Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, the grandnephew of the eponymous Bahian notable who presided over the CCB of 1835, restored regulatory governmental powers that depended on private companies as coequal partners in development, unspooling a century's worth of lessons learned in crafting migration logistics and legitimate means to profit from them.[57]

* * *

The formation of the General Directorate of Peopling Service in 1907 represented the endpoint of a centennial learning curve that had, since 1808, attempted to rein in directed migrations toward peopling purposes and to do so for fiscal gain. It also capped a running process of defining who rightfully counted as an "immigrant." As early as 1885, the SCI had

[56] Santiago Pérez Triana to senator Rui Barbosa (3 Feb. 1908), Barbosa to Afonso Pena (11 Mar. 1908), ANd-BR RJANRIO ON.0.COR.18/42; "Los que descollaron en La Haya," *El Progreso Latino* (Mexico), no. 21 (7 Dec. 1907); Pedro Penner da Cunha, *A diplomâcia da paz: Rui Barbosa em Haia* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1977); *United Empire: The Royal Colonial Institute Journal* 7, no. 10 (Oct. 1916): 688.

[57] Decree no. 6455 (19 Apr. 1907); Decree no. 6479 (16 May 1907); Decree no. 9081 (3 Nov. 1911), *Coleção das Leis Brasileiras*; J. F. Gonçalves Júnior, *Organisação do Serviço de Povoamento em 1907: Relatório* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1908).

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defined "immigrant" status as exclusive to third-class passengers. By 1888, the Lands and Colonization Directorate employed the same definition in its annual report while Agriculture minister Prado confirmed to senators that "only 3rd class passengers [were] considered immigrants eligible for State favors." Two decades later, this definition found its way into the bylaws of the new Directorate and was further reinforced by Italian policymakers' own categorical definitions.[58] In 1901, for instance, a popular compendium of Italian emigration regulations referred to first- and second-class passengers as "simple travelers and not repatriated emigrants." Later, the Direzione General della Statistica began to apply this definition to its regular emigration tallies.[59] In general, this budding passenger-oriented approach to migration accounting resulted in greater differentiation with the category of "colono," which allowed for higher-class migrants to continue to leave despite exit restrictions. At the same time, this emergent approach also created class-based wedges among migrant groups by reifying the notion of the immigrant as a third-class passenger who, upon arrival, would remain moored to the state through debt-payment service. Therefore, as it carried forth the SCI's class-based conception of immigration, the Peopling Service sundered previous generations of incomers and later cohorts of migrants, relegating the latter to a lower status accorded fewer privileges.

Curiously, at this point, too, racial or ethnic parameters lost salience in migration policy after their brief paramountcy in the early Republic. Migrations indeed continued to diversify. In 1908, for instance, the first Japanese cohorts arrived. But rather than to simply fill the void left by the reduced number of Italians coming to Brazil, Japanese migrations had their own political considerations and profit-oriented company rationales behind them. When the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 stemmed Japanese migration to the United States, Japanese authorities crafted new migration policies driven by what historian Sidney Lu has referred to as a "Malthusian expansionism." Having learned from prior agrarian

[58] "Projecto de regulamento para o transporte marítimo de emigrantes," and "Movimento de immigrantes," *A Immigração*, nos. 8, 67 (Jan. 1885, May 1890); Francisco de Barros and Accioli de Vasconcellos, *Inspectoria Geral das Terras e Colonisação: relatório* (1888); 31 Oct., *AS* (1888), vol. 6, 418; Júnior, *Organisação*, 96.

[59] Aronne Rabbeno, *Manuale dell'emigrazione; storia, statistica, relazioni, discussioni, testo delle leggi, regolamenti e giurisprudenza; vade-mecum per gli emigranti, vettori, municipi e funzionari tutti dell'amigrazione* (Florence: G. Barbèra, 1901), 25; Direzione Generale della Statistica, *Statistica della emigrazione italiana per l'estero negli anni 1900 e 1901* (Rome: Tipografia Nacionale di G. Bertero e C., 1903), 26.

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colonization efforts on the northern island of Hokkaido and the later redirectioning of migrant flows to California, Japanese businessmen and intellectuals began to peddle the idea of Brazil as a frontier for *shokumin*, or colonial migration.[60] Already in 1914, figures like Kawanda Shirō, from the Kyoto Imperial University, advocated a concerted process of colonization in Brazilian lands rather than the simple emigrant schemes of the past. Having undertaken migrant imports into São Paulo in 1907–1908 under a company known as the Tokyo Syndicate, empresario Aoyagi Ikutarō spearheaded the formation of an even larger enterprise under this new pretense, the Burajiru Takushoku Gaisha, or Brazil Colonization Company. In 1919, the company merged with another, the Kaigai Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha, the Overseas Development Company, itself a consolidation of four separate migration companies.[61] This bourgeoning foreign entrepreneurialism found its target particularly in Iguape, São Paulo, an area previously scouted by the Confederados. Up until the 1950s, Japan sent consecutive migratory cohorts to Brazil, making the latter home to the largest overseas Japanese population beyond Tokyo's jurisdiction.[62]

The lessons of nineteenth-century colonization prompted logistical innovations and policy proposals that facilitated the advent of mass migrations. New and larger hospedarias embodied a seemingly expanded receptivity to growing migrant numbers. Meanwhile, a new civil association embodied the ethos and praxis of colonization companies of old in its interest in orchestrating migration and settlement toward profitable ends. Synthesizing colonization experiences that harkened back to the independence era, the SCI refined ideas on migrant recruitment, conveyance, and retention that curdled into policy with the Brazilian Empire's fall and the rise of the republic. These new policies coincided with the first statutory race-based migration restrictions in Brazil. However, those restrictions proved relatively short-lived, as they were forced to cede vis à vis a host of pressures and contingencies. Internal power struggles

[60] Sidney Xu Lu, *The Making of Japanese Settler Colonialism: Malthusianism and Trans-Pacific Migration, 1868–1961* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1–68; Michael Thornton, "A Capitol Orchard: Botanical Networks and the Creation of a Japanese 'Neo-Europe'," *AHR* 127, no. 2 (2022): 573–599.

[61] Lu, *The Making of Japanese Settler Colonialism*, 149–179.

[62] Jeffrey Lesser, *A Discontented Diaspora: Japanese Brazilians and the Meanings of Ethnic Militancy, 1960–1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Mieko Nishida, *Diaspora and Identity: Japanese Brazilians in Brazil and Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018).

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interrupted efforts to develop migration policy frameworks while foreign restrictions against emigration to Brazil disrupted expectations of a continuous provision of Italian laborers. Policy impasses and political reversals compounded the weight of colonization precedents to make the era of mass migrations look not only less spontaneous but also less consistent than it would appear at first sight. And yet, all throughout, the business of colonization evinced remarkable resilience. As policy negotiations, racial selectivity, and diplomatic tussles crested and waned, company-driven and profit-oriented dynamics – both in Brazil and beyond – continued to power directed migrations.

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Conclusion

The Afterlives of a Nineteenth-Century Paradigm

The legacies of colonization etched themselves along the grain of the twentieth century. Numbers waxed and waned, but colonization preserved its edge as a policy prescription and continued opening new horizons of business opportunity. Novel empresarios and companies followed familiar scripts – tried and true methods of operation – and expectations of reciprocal benefit among companies and government offices continued to structure the pace and content of colonization proposals.

Significantly, these ongoing projects arose as the term itself, "colonization," circled back to peopling paradigms in response to ideas about population growth, territorial occupation, geopolitical pressures, and wealth generation. More than a century after the first company-led colonization projects, business ventures reprised a dynamic and mutually constitutive relationship with regulatory mechanisms. And companies – together with the migrants they sought to transport to new homelands – remained subject to convergent international forces, though always in the mold of previous efforts.

The cast of characters involved in twentieth-century colonization also evinced remarkable continuities with earlier projects. Household monarchists and republicans alike, including Antonio Prado and Rui Barbosa, carried the business of migration into the new century, as did the descendants of the earliest empresarios. The marquês de Abrantes's grandnephew, also named Miguel Calmon, took the helm of the Peopling Service, for instance. Toponymy itself generated an archive of colonization legacies. By the 1940s, colonies aptly christened Quintino Bocaiúva and Marquês de Abrantes emerged near Rio, while Filadelfia became Teófilo Ottoni.

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On the shoulders of political elites, savvy empresarios, and migrants themselves, colonization carried on in the twentieth century as a historical legacy that was very much alive. Throughout Brazil, foreign colonos and first-generation Brazilians of foreign descent made headway into new internal frontiers. Italo-Brazilians and Japanese migrants who settled in São Paulo decades before partook decisively in a northeastern riverine colonization push into Mato Grosso in the 1950s. This process sped up with the construction of interior highways after the 1960s, most notably the BR-163 extending from Rio Grande do Sul to Santarém, in the heart of Pará.[1] Similarly, colonization companies pulled migrant-descended peoples from Rio Grande do Sul into the western regions of Santa Catarina, jumpstarting a process of land occupation, indigenous displacement, and deforestation that enterprises like the Southern Brazil Lumber and Colonization Company exported to Amazonian regions later in the century.[2]

How had colonization etched such an indelible mark on the history of Brazil? It was a legacy of lessons learned, of continuity in goals and efforts even in the face of dynamic domestic and international change, and of remarkable self-study. Already in the 1870s, previous peopling efforts came under the discerning eye of studious gentlemen who attempted to tease out the unwritten rules governing successful colonization. From the encyclopedic work commissioned by the Agriculture minister and published by Augusto de Carvalho in 1876 to the work of a Peopling Service section chief in 1918, colonization congealed into a historical science. As such, it followed closely in the wake of systematic examinations of colonization at a world scale carried out by Leroy-Beaulieu and others.[3]

Foreign observers also contributed to popularizing a Brazilian science of colonization while indirectly buoying attendant business interests.

[1] ANB, Fundação Brasil Central, cx. 20; Ariana Rumstain, *Peões no trecho: Trajetória e estratégias de mobilidade no Mato Grosso* (Rio de Janeiro: E-papers, 2012).

[2] Eunice Nodari, *Etnicidades renegociadas: Práticas socioculturais no Oeste de Santa Catarina* (Florianópolis: EdUFSC, 2009); and "'Mata Branca': O uso do machado, do fogo e da motosserra na alteração da paisagem no Estado de Santa Catarina," in *História ambiental e migrações*, ed. João Klug and Eunice Nodari (São Leopoldo: Oikos, 2012), 35–53; Miguel Mundstock Xavier de Carvalho, "Uma grande empresa em meio à floresta: A história da devastação da floresta com araucária e a Southern Brazil Lumber and Colonization (1870–1970)" (PhD thesis, UFSC, 2012).

[3] Augusto de Carvalho, *O Brazil: Colonisação e emigração. Esboço histórico baseado no estudo dos systemas e vantagens que offerecem os Estados-Unidos* (Porto: Imprensa Portugueza, 1876); Joaquim da Silva Rocha, *História da colonisação do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1918).

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In the 1890s, an adjunct lecturer at the Università di Genova named Vincenzo Grossi, for example, pivoted from his work on "American ethnology" in the Aleutian islands and "colonial economy" in Eritrea to Italian emigration to Brazil. Decades later, in 1914, Grossi's *Storia della colonizzazione europea al Brasile* offered a systematic survey of migrations to São Paulo, following the money but also the general trend of producing more informative works on the history of Brazilian colonization.[4]

Powered by a newfound scientific legitimacy and a practiced opportunism centered on profits, colonization continued apace into the twentieth century. Surely, scandals and breakdowns kept plaguing these efforts in a striking echo of nineteenth-century precedents. Yet colonization projects built on this potent legacy of capitalist enterprise and government partnership endured, finding an important – and evolving – niche during the era headed by Getúlio Vargas (1930–1945, 1951–1954) and up until the end of the Brazilian dictatorship of 1964–1985.

COLONIZATION IN THE VARGAS ERA AND BEYOND

In 1930, Vargas strolled into power after a victorious coup supported by an array of divergent forces. To topple the political machinery of the first Republic, he relied on a varied coterie of intellectuals reared in the budding criminology and sanitarianism of Raimundo Nina Rodrigues and the organic agrarianism of Alberto Torres, among other currents of thought. These ameliorative and eugenic currents found their course in the restrictive immigration decrees that preceded a new 1934 constitution by two months. While not particularly innovative in terms of ideas, the 1934 decrees epitomized restrictions against presumably undesired classes of people, including illiterate individuals; blind and hard-of-hearing persons; anyone suffering from leprosy, sexually transmitted diseases, or tuberculosis; gypsies or nomads; mental health wards; sexual workers; and minors and elders over 60. Reviving and empowering old tropes, the second decree, which regulated foreign entries, divided immigrants into two broad classes – agricultural workers and non-agricultural workers – and provided particular guidance on *cartas de chamada* (calling letters),

[4] Vincenzo Grossi, *Se e come si potrebbe tentare la colonizzazione dell'Eritrea* (Rome: G. Bertero, 1895); *L'Amazzonia e gli interessi italiani nel nord del Brasile* (Milan: P. B. Bellini, 1897); *Storia della colonizzazione europea al Brasile e della emigrazione italiana nello stato di S. Paulo* (Milano: Albrighi, Segati & C, 1914); *L'economista*, no. 1211 (18 July 1897), 456.

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a device by which the Labor, Industry and Commerce ministry would review proposals from "enterprises or companies" interested in introducing agricultural immigrants to Brazil. And so, while immigration restrictions crested, companies vested in the lucrative trade of directing migrations won an express route for approvals.[5]

The 1934 Constitution formalized Vargas's hold of power, recentralized migration controls, opened the door to "total or selective prohibition according to place of precedence," and distributed the responsibility to "stimulate Eugenic education" (Art. 138.b) among the central, state-level, and municipal governments. Yet only with the rise of the authoritarian Estado Novo (1937–1945) did Vargas and his brethren enshrine racial and ethnic parameters into migration policy, effectuating a transition from the historical science of colonization to a tutelary craft of population and cultural engineering. A nationalization campaign in 1937 mandated the teaching of Brazilian history in schools and Portuguese as the only authorized language of instruction, dealing a blow to local schools in German, Italian, Japanese, Polish, and other migrant-descent communities. Further administrative reorganization accompanied this shift in 1938, with the transformation of the Departamento Nacional do Povoamento (a later version of the Peopling Service) into the new National Department of Immigration and the creation of the Conselho de Imigração e Colonização (Council on Immigration and Colonization, hereafter CIC), which crowned efforts to pool together the myriad agencies and specialists involved in demographic governance.[6]

The *Revista de Imigração e Colonização* published by the CIC from 1940 to 1955 consecrated directed migrations and colonization as essential social engineering tools of Vargas's statecraft. From its first issue, peopling made a daring return to public policy from the moment the CIC president declared that "no question surpasses population in importance."[7] Notably, the *Revista* revived the principle of peopling as a

[5] Dain Borges, "'Puffy, Ugly, Slothful and Inert': Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880–1940, *JLAS* 25, no. 2 (1993): 235–256; Juri Bottura, "Shaping the Body of the Nation: 'Organicist Agrarianism' in 1930s Brazil" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2019); Decree no. 24258 (16 May 1934), *Diário Oficial da União* (11 June 1934).

[6] Law Decree no. 1023-A (31 Dec. 1938); Decree no. 3691 (6 Feb. 1939), *Diário Oficial da União* (25 Mar., 8 Feb. 1939).

[7] João Carlos Muniz, "Apresentação," and "Primeiro ano de trabalhos do Conselho de Imigração e Colonização," *RIC* 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1940): 3–4, 5–19. The Council began its operations in Sept. 1939. Members included navy captain Attila Monteiro Aché, major Aristoteles de Lima Camara, Artur Hehl Neiva (director general of the civil police in Rio), Dulphe Pinheiro Machado (director of National Department of Immigration), José

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cornerstone of governmental agency and reanimated companies as the ideal vessels of colonization by turning to useful precedents. It republished, for instance, the 95-year-old work by the visconde de Abrantes, *Memória sobre os meios de promover a colonisação*, the first of a series of "historical documents" offered by the journal.[8]

The *Revista* also featured contributors who extolled historical and contemporary companies including the British and Dutch East India Companies, United Fruit, and Ford due to their "enormous financial resources," calling attention to their "extraordinary rights" and their "monopolistic nature as preconditions for their actions." Reference to these models coexisted with the belief that fascist corporations such as the Ente per la Colonizzazione della Libia and the Istituto Nazionale Fascista per la Previdenza were likewise worthy of emulation.[9] Indeed, the fascist bent and explicit anti-Semitism of many early contributors to the *Revista* defined the way this new generation reprised peopling. While another contributor called for "a policy of selection in relation to the human currents headed to our country ... by their racial characteristics," scheming bureaucrats like Justice secretary Ernani Reis – dubbed "Brazil's doorman" by historian Fábio Koifman – further mobilized a systematic campaign to bar Jewish refugees from Brazil.[10]

The Vargas regime's enthusiastic embrace of colonization as a pro-active policy peaked in 1943 precisely as immigration policies hardened and gained autonomy from schemes related to territorial occupation. Since the early 1930s, immigration had grown increasingly restrictive, a trend that became clear with the establishment of a nationality quota regime in 1938 limiting foreign entries to no more than 2 percent of the total number of entries for any given nationality from 1884 to 1930,

Oliveira Marques (director of the Land and Colonization Division of the Agriculture ministry), and engineer Luiz Betim Paes Leme.

[8] Visconde de Abrantes, "Memória sobre os meios de promover a colonisação," *RIC* 2, nos. 2–3 (Apr.–July 1941): 832–891.

[9] Lincoln Nodari, "Algumas considerações sobre as colonizações: O caso específico da colonização no Brasil," *RIC* 1, no. 3 (July 1940): 464–472. On the circulation of corporatist, including fascist, models at the time, see Melissa Teixeira, "Making a Brazilian New Deal: Oliveira Vianna and the Transnational Sources of Brazil's Corporatist Experiment," *JLAS* 50, no. 3 (2018): 613–641.

[10] José de Oliveira Marques, "Colonização e povoamento," *RIC* 1, no. 2 (Apr. 1940): 205–209; Fábio Koifman, *Imigrante ideal: O Ministério da Justiça e a entrada de estrangeiros no Brasil (1941–1945)* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2012), 85–130.

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similarly to the US Immigration Act of 1924.[11] Wartime measures more forcefully capped immigration in 1941 by suspending temporary visas to foreigners requiring any kind of pecuniary aid (with the exception of "nationals from American states") and suspending permanent visas to all incomers except Portuguese nationals, foreigners with Brazilian spouses or children, agricultural workers, and experts involved in any "colonization previously approved by the federal government." Then, in 1944, the saga of colonizing the Brazilian interior hit a high pitch with the creation of the Fundação Brasil Central (Central Brazil Foundation, hereafter FBC). The FBC came at the tail end of the March to the West, a series of initiatives seeded by Vargas throughout the 1930s and early '40s to overtake and exploit a region christened as "central Brazil."[12]

Interestingly, the FBC was statutorily defined as a public-private company endowed with immense governance powers over the area and with capacities that exceeded those allowed to other public dependencies. This hybrid corporation enjoyed exemptions and subsidies similar to other government autarchies but, in contrast to them, remained a "juridical person in private law."[13] As such, the FBC was entitled to central-government subventions as much as to any funds it raised from private sources. Moreover, the FBC could direct an undisclosed percentage of its profits to the salaries of administrators and employees, thus putting that old revolving door between public service and personal gain back on a steady spin. One critical journalist alluded to the FBC's continuities with its centennial predecessors when he remarked that "some men under the direction of prestigious figures ... organize themselves in a limited company" to receive "all aid" from government, "collect private donations," and "harvest easy lucre" from "their bureaus by the coast."[14]

After the war, however, things shifted once again. The Brazilian Conference on Immigration and Colonization organized by the CIC in

[11] See David Cook-Martín and David Scott FitzGerald, *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 284–293.

[12] Decree no. 17274 (30 Nov. 1944), *Diário Oficial da União* (2 Dec. 1944), 20332; João Marcelo Ehlert Maia, *Estado, território e imaginação espacial: O caso da Fundação Brasil Central* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2012), 46–78; Orlando Villas-Bôas and Cláudio Villas-Bôas, *A Marcha para o Oeste: A epopeia da Expedição Roncador-Xingu* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2012).

[13] Decree no. 17274 (30 Nov. 1944), *Diário Oficial da União* (2 Dec. 1944), 20332; Maia, *Estado*, 176–178.

[14] Joel Silveira, "Prefácio," in Carlos Telles, *História secreta da Fundação Brasil Central (retrato de João Alberto e de uma época)* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Chavantes, 1946), ii–iii.

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1949 brought together a multiform intelligentsia from the first republic and the Vargas era united by the common goal of a rationally executed occupation of interior Brazil. From 30 April to 7 May, a developmentalist coterie of agronomists, geographers, politicians, and diplomats gathered in Goiânia, the frontier city created by the first Varguismo, with two objectives: to ponder how to develop the region "on the basis of national and foreign colonization" and to "identify empty spaces propitious for colonization as the starting point for ... economic decentralization" in advance of the relocation of the country's capital to the interior. As a performative staging of expert knowledge, the conference opening at the freshly minted art-déco Goiânia Theater featured ministers, governors, lawmakers, academics, foreign dignitaries from Lebanon, Holland, the United States, Italy and Portugal, and a Catholic nuncio. Several technical commissions hosted up to 160 presentations nearby at the Jockey Club, Paulo Mendes da Rocha's brutalist icon. The conference produced a total of 177 policy recommendations principally on immigration, colonization, and "social economy," as well as geopolitics and the environment.[15]

At the time, the professional journal of Brazilian geographers and the *Revista Geográfica*, one of the publications churned out by the Organization of American States, glowingly celebrated the conference as a catalyst for development initiatives. Whereas some scholars have deemed the conference a "relative failure," the event was significant in its combination of a small set of novel recommendations with a plethora of nineteenth-century precedents. According to observers, the conference defined colonization as a "competence of federal and state governments, *private companies*, or duly authorized international organizations" and identified the Tennessee Valley Authority as a model to follow. It also advocated for rural infants and mothers and promoted a heightened focus on regional development around the São Francisco river basin and the Amazon.[16]

Beyond very modest substantive solutions, the conference's importance lay in its role as a symbolic crossroads of different generations of

[15] *Revista Geográfica* 9–10, nos. 25–30 (1949–1950): 266–268; Speridião Faissol, "Problemas de colonização na Conferência de Goiânia," "I Conferência Brasileira de Colonização e Imigração," *Revista Brasileira de Geografia* (Apr.–June 1949): 274–278, 302–304. On colonization in Goiás in the 1940s and '50s, see Sandro Dutra e Silva, *No Oeste, a terra e o céu: A expansão da fronteira agrícola no Brasil central* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad Editora, 2017).

[16] Antón Corbacho Quintela and Alexandre Ferreira Costa, "Uma conferência relativamente fracassada: I Conferência Brasileira de Imigração e Colonização," *Memória* 13, no. 10 (2011): 215–225.

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technocratic apparatchiks that crossed over from the first republic to the Vargas era and into the early years of the Brazilian dictatorship (1964–1985). Yet there were other significant shifts in the tenor of conversation as well. Notably, the conference articulated one of the first explicitly race- and color-blind principles in migration policy, calling for a "colonization free of any bias against race, nationality or religion." However, next to these innovative prescriptions, the conference promoted time-worn measures to stimulate colonization: sped-up naturalization, preference for families and agricultural workers among immigrant pools, incentives for large groups of foreigners to migrate accompanied by religious leaders, immigration reception centers, rural credit for smallholders, and technical agricultural education. The conference beckoned spontaneous migrations to the Amazon region to increase population and "improve Brazil's cultural – agricultural and industrial – patterns," a coded description for migrants from industrialized countries that echoed preferences of old. Rather than an utter failure, then, the meeting at Goiânia reproduced long-running tropes in demographic management while submitting them to the new logics of regional planning and social welfare.

The colonizing impetus of the FBC and the Goiânia Congress of 1949 fed into a new military regime that, after 1964, once again hitched colonization to its own vision of Brazil's interior as one of immense national potential waiting to be unleashed. In many ways, the rising military regime not only recycled personnel from the Vargas era but also refashioned commonplaces of colonization parlance. Indeed, the characteristic developmentalism and geopolitical fretting of the dictatorship era (1964–1985) turned colonization to the service of ideas widespread among the official party, ARENA, about connecting "polos prioritários" (priority poles) through an expansive network of roads that exploited ostensibly underused territories and protected Brazil from land-based intrusions from the north and the west.[17] The approval of an Estatuto da Terra, the dictatorship's version of a land reform, sought to "modernize" agriculture by expropriating smallholding and, with the help of regional companies, sending their occupants to new colonization frontiers in Mato Grosso.[18]

By this time, conservative-led efforts to colonize neotropical borderlands had taken place across Latin America. In Mexico, the "March to the

[17] "Lindoso quer mais objetividade nas metas de Médici na Amazônia," *Tribuna da Imprensa*, no. 6023 (13 Feb. 1970).

[18] João Carlos Barrozo, "A colonização em Mato Groso como 'portão de escape' para a crise agrária no Rio Grande do Sul," *Clio* 32, no. 2 (2014): 143–166.

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Tropics" initiated in 1963 with the Programa de Colonización around the Candelaria river brought colonos from Coahuila to the southern frontier with Guatemala, whose own Empresa Nacional de Fomento y Desarrollo del Petén (est. 1959) led a colonization program in those same humid lowlands from 1965. In Bolivia, plans to develop a continental "Highway of the Jungle" in 1963 instigated a "March to the East" that brought in Okinawan colonos from the Ryukyuan Overseas Emigration Corporation, Mennonite communities from northern Mexico, and Andean highlanders to regions close to Santa Cruz.[19] Comparatively, Brazil's colonization surge came later, once the dictatorship entrenched itself. And the mandate to colonize took shape from above as much as from below. Individual figures such as Amazonas state president Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis played a key role in both turning the sights of leading political classes toward the Amazon and deploying discourses of civilizing the Brazilian interior that still had purchase in the new jingoism and defense priorities of the military brass now in control.[20]

Projects targeting the Amazon coalesced in the Plan for National Integration issued by the Médici administration in 1970, which ushered in a flurry of colonization-related dynamics, some of long-standing precedent. For instance, the government undertook a close collaboration with a foreign company, German automaker Volkswagen, to realize the latter's plan of establishing a model ranch in southeastern Pará.[21] In parallel, a highway-building fever opened the way for lengthy north-south *rodovias* such as the BR-163 and the BR-158, which pulled peasants, many of migrant descent, from states like São Paulo, Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul to the Amazon-basin states of Mato Grosso, Goiás, and Pará. Colonization horizons of old hence fed into the rush to colonize new Amazonian frontiers.

The dictatorship's colonization surge peaked with plans to build the Transamazonian Highway, the Transamazônica, set to traverse the entire

[19] Rosa Torras Conangla, *Colonización y colonialidad en una selva de frontera: La cuenca campechana del río Candelaria (siglos XIX y XX)* (Mérida: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2019); Ben Nobbs-Thiessen, *Landscape of Migration: Mobility and Environmental Change on Bolivia's Tropical Frontier, 1952 to the Present* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

[20] Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, *A integração da Amazônia na civilização brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Representação do Govêrno do Estado do Amazonas, 1965); *A colonização européia nos trópicos* (Manaus: Governo do Estado do Amazonas, 1966); Vinicius Alves do Amaral, "Vicissitudes de um Heródoto caboclo: Arthur Reis e a ditadura civil-militar em Manaus (1964–1966)," *Temporalidades* 5, no. 3 (2013): 125–146.

[21] Antoine Acker, *Volkswagen in the Amazon: The Tragedy of Global Development in Modern Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 54–65.

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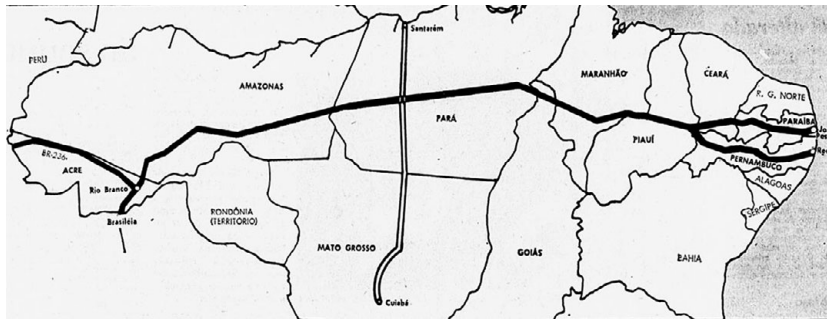

FIGURE 10.1 "Vision of the Future": The Transamazonian Highway
Jornal do Brasil, no. 291 (18 Mar. 1970).

basin from west to east (Figure 10.1). The plan concocted by multiple ministries was to "cut the Tapajós and Xingú valleys through and through with roads, and colonize them until the end of the administration." According to minister Costa Cavalcanti, "a human contingent for occupation" would advance along these roads under a guided colonization process. Among the government officials involved in the project was Agriculture minister Luís Fernando Cirne Lima, erstwhile president of the Rio Grande do Sul Agriculture Federation, which further conferred a strong southern imprint to Amazon colonization. Indeed, old tropes of peopling empty lands of high economic value rang across the mushrooming bureaucracies involved in these plans. As general Médici explained it, "With an area corresponding to around 50% of national territory and occupied only by 3.83% of our population ... the Amazon represents one of the largest demographic vacuums of the world aside from polar regions."[22] These ambitious plans to populate arteries across the Amazon called all hands on deck, incorporating old dvelopment agencies and spawning new ones such as the rural extension agency EMATER-Pará. Yet none surpassed the importance of the Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária (National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform, INCRA), whose express remit was to watch over colonization processes.

True to pattern, Transamazonian colonization operations did not succeed as planned. After a US$500 million investment in the project, INCRA had only settled 8,000 families by 1981, with an additional 1,600 following on their own, as University of Florida geographer Nigel Smith reported. The slow pace of peopling and unrelenting lobbying from large landholders and corporate interests compelled the military government to

[22] *Jornal do Brasil*, nos. 236, 290, 291 (10 Jan., 17, 18 Mar. 1970).

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change track away from small family plots, offering extensive land allotments to cattle ranchers and private companies instead.[23] A year before the end of the military dictatorship, the Projetos Integrados de Colonização (Integrated Colonization Projects, PICs) that had served as the hallmark of INCRA's operations between 1970 and 1974 were roundly condemned as failures. According to the press in Pará, land distribution to individuals had given way to fraudulent practices of people claiming additional lands through relatives in order to sell them at "exorbitant prices."[24]

The grand ambitions of colonizing the Amazon reached their apogee in an unregulated and highly speculative land market.[25] Not one decade had passed since the enactment of PICs before civil society leaders denounced their disastrous shortcomings. But the notion of failure itself had to be qualified, as profits kept flowing – just not as originally envisioned. Political figures continued to call for the business of colonization to carry on, arguing that only more private investment would allow the plans for peopling the Amazon to come to fruition. Already when the strains of existing programs had become evident, federal deputy for the new conservative-liberal Partido Democrático Social, Ubaldino Meireles, issued a call for the national business class to rescue PICs.[26]

Contrary to Meireles's hopes, however, efforts toward directed migration and settlement did not succeed as intended. Indeed, it is worth remembering that his desperate boosterism came at the tail end of a dictatorship dealing with spiraling inflation and in dire need of capital injections. That alone should serve as a reminder of the weight of context not only in the mobilization of old peopling tropes and dynamics but also in their shaping and reshaping. In fact, after the return to democracy in 1988, Amazon settlement and land distribution targets turned toward sustainable development models. In activated notions of carrying capacity and the limited nature of resources, the discursive field and policies of

[23] Marianne Schmink and Charles H. Wood, "Blaming the Victim: Small Farmer Production in an Amazon Colonization Project," *Studies in Third World Societies* 7 (1979): 77–93; Nigel J. H. Smith, "Colonization Lessons from a Tropical Rainforest," *Science* 214, no. 4522 (Nov. 1981): 755–761; and *Rainforest Corridors: The Transamazon Colonization Scheme* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Stephen G. Bunker, "The Cost of Modernity: Inappropriate Bureaucracy, Inequality, and Development Program Failure in the Brazilian Amazon," *The Journal of Developing Areas* 16, no. 4 (July 1982): 573–596.

[24] *Diário do Pará*, no. 546 (13 Aug. 1984).

[25] Jeremy Campbell, *Conjuring Property: Speculation and Environmental Futures in the Brazilian Amazon* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).

[26] *Jornal do Comércio* (AM), no. 23163 (16 Aug. 1980).

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sustainable development put a damper on prior ideas of unbridled peopling while repurposing some of the leading frameworks of the same Malthusian thought that had inspired the Luso-Brazilians officials of yester.[27] Vargas's March to the West, moreover, revived in some form in Médici's conceit of traversing the Amazon, which in itself was reincarnated, as it were, in an Amazonian plan that projected extending the BR-163 from its endpoint in Santarém, Pará, all the way to Surinam via a new bridge across the Amazon River, as well as the construction of a new hydroelectric dam in that undeveloped Amazon region.[28]

REMEMBERING MIGRATION

Crises, ambition, and ideas structured colonization as an administrative, political, and intellectual tradition in Brazil – one that refuses to die out. Generation after generation, statesmen, lawmakers, empresarios, adventurers, internal migrants, and foreign colonos have revisited past experiences of managed population movements and territorial occupation. In doing so, they often extracted technical, logistical, and governmental lessons applicable to their own time and to their own interests. In the aggregate, these lessons shaped a learning curve that structured the operations of government agencies and figures as they crafted "management traditions" out of an ample gamut of tutelary and governmental powers in the process of formation.[29]

But the afterlives of a colonization paradigm originally carried to full form in the long nineteenth century would be unthinkable without the company work that undergirded and exponentialized the imperial and later Republican and other regimes' capacities to exert dominion over – and extract profit from – territory and population. This book has shined a light on the previously diffuse, often unexamined role of private interest in colonization processes, with a particular focus on the function played by companies that operated with great liberty, privileges, and power in a society that found in them a vehicle to reproduce its oligarchic political trappings. Neither an individual nor an estate, colonization companies

[27] Carlos Valério Gomes, Jeffrey Hoelle, Marianne Schmink, and Gregory M. Thaler, "From Contested to 'Green' Frontiers in the Amazon? A Long-Term Analysis of São Félix do Xingu, Brazil," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 46, no. 2 (2019): 377–399.

[28] Tatiana Dias, "Movido a paranoia: Documentos e áudios inéditos mostram plano de Bolsonaro para povoar Amazônia contra chineses, ONGs e Igreja Católica," *The Intercept Brasil* (19 Sept. 2019)

[29] Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima, ed., *Tutela: Formação de Estado e tradições de gestão no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: E-papers, 2014).

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benefited both the singular personalities behind them as much as the classes, cabals, or business partnerships to which they belonged. As mutable and adaptable agents of change, colonization companies give future scholars an opening salvo to consider the historical impact of companies as capacious and profoundly problematic collective actors.

Colonization also profoundly impacted Brazil's social history in ways that are only gradually becoming apparent. Scholars have begun to uncover how, at present, positive social markers in states like São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul may harken back to immigration and the advantages that foreign colonos brought with them, whether in the form of social capital or government concessions. One study matching 52 government colonies founded in Rio Grande do Sul between 1824 and 1918 to present-day jurisdictions concluded that "closeness to an official colony is associated with higher per capita income, less poverty ... better health and education outcomes; and for the areas close to German colonies, also less inequality of income and educational outcomes." In a similar vein, according to economic historian Bruno Witzel de Souza, the relative ease with which German immigrants in São Paulo were able to establish private schools resulted in higher enrollment rates by the early twentieth century and may have "set the path for human capital accumulation in the long run."[30] From the 1850s on, mutual aid societies also privileged migrants with in-group support, even if they also reified internal hierarchies, contributing both to the integration and stratification of migrant communities.

Class and racial divisions both within and among migrant and national groups only deepened in the era of mass migrations, further entrenching socioeconomic differences between foreign and national migrants, as historian Molly Ball has shown. It is important to remember that freedmen and -women and indigenous people did not have access to the subsidies and resources that government officials and empresarios frequently designed for incoming migrants. And often, migrant and migrant-descended laborers went to great lengths to defend these privileges against

[30] Irineu de Carvalho Filho and Leonardo Monasterio, "Immigration and the Origins of Regional Inequality: Government-Sponsored European Migration to Southern Brazil before World War I," *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 42 (2012): 794–807; Joerg Baten, Tarcísio Botelho, and Yvonne Stolz, "Growth Effects of Nineteenth-Century Mass Migrations: 'Fome Zero' for Brazil?," *European Review of Economic History* 17 (2013): 95–121; Bruno Gabriel Witzel de Souza, "Immigration and the Path Dependence of Education: The Case of German-Speakers in São Paulo (1840–1920)," *The Economic History Review* 71, no. 2 (2018): 506–539; Irineu de Carvalho Filho and Renato P. Colistete, "Education Performance: Was It All Determined 100 Years Ago? Evidence From São Paulo, Brazil," Munich Personal RePEc Archive Paper no. 24494 (2010), https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/24494/1/MPRA_paper_24494.pdf.

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what they perceived as usurpation attempts by indigenous peoples such as the Kaingang. Emerging insights such as these command serious reflection on the long-term effects of the colonization processes examined in this book, not least when one considers that many of the municipalities discussed by these scholars overwhelmingly voted for a far-right presidential candidate in 2018 and 2022, supporting political platforms premised on the cancellation of redistributive programs and government initiatives to eliminate extreme poverty.[31]

Despite the glaring historical inequalities and processes that have cemented the symbolism of wealthy provinces like São Paulo, tales of pioneering and industrious migrants persist to the point that any gains among their descendants are celebrated as the product of hard-won merit.[32] This kind of revalorization of migrant descendance emerged with unprecedented force in the postwar period on the shoulders of voluntary associations and as a reaction to the nationalization campaign under Vargas, who, it bears mention, changed track during his last stint in power to accommodate a resurging interest in promoting emigration on the part of the Italian government.[33] What it meant to be German, Japanese, or Italian in Brazil also derived from strategic foreign policy interventions by West Germany, Japan, and other polities bent on strategically exploiting their diasporas during that period.[34] Since then, cultural pride in migrant heritage has found ammunition in historical descriptions of "brava gente" who successfully acculturated and in turn contributed decisively to Brazilian society and identity or in epithets that celebrate erstwhile colonies on the basis of their European likeness – Nova

[31] Soraia Sales Dornelles, "De Coroados a Kaingang: As experiências vividas pelos indígenas no contexto de imigração alemã e italiana no Rio Grande do Sul do século XIX e início do XX" (MA thesis, UFRS, 2011); and "Expansão da fronteira agrícola do centro-sudoeste paulista na segunda metade do século XIX: Presença e atuação indígena em terras almejadas pela apropriação privada, 'um empecilho de dura transposição,'" *História* 39 (2020); Karl Monsma, *A reprodução do racismo: Fazendeiros, negros e imigrantes no oeste paulista, 1880–1914* (São Carlos: EdUFSCar, 2016); Molly C. Ball, *Navigating Life and Work in Old Republic São Paulo* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2020); Benjamin Bryce, *To Belong in Buenos Aires: Germans, Argentines and the Rise of a Pluralist Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018).

[32] On the making of São Paulo's symbolism as a beacon of modernity, see Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

[33] Dario Gaggio, "Pioneers or Mere Labor Force? Post–World War II Italian Rural Migration to Brazil and the Legacies of Colonialism," *Journal of Social History* 54, no. 3 (2021): 920–943.

[34] Glen S. Goodman, "The Enduring Politics of German-Brazilian Ethnicity," *German History* 33, no. 3 (2015): 423–438; Nishida, *Diaspora and Identity*, 18–42, 99–129.

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Friburgo, for instance, is the "Brazilian Switzerland."[35] Germanness in particular found apologists in scholars like Carlos Oberacker, who took pride in underlining "Teutonic" contributions to Brazil's industrial development. These views often gloss over the fact not only that such growth came at the cost of dismal human suffering, as witnessed by the soaring child mortality rates recorded in parish records in São Leopoldo, but also that German-speaking colonos robustly partook in slave-holding, as scholars have more recently examined in great depth.[36]

Brazil has no dearth of ethnic-oriented performances that seek to actualize migrant pasts, trademarking them in regional rituals or traditional festivals advertised benignly as nothing more than local color, especially in southeastern and southern Brazil, where what historian Glen Goodman has called "tourist migrant marketplaces" abound. From the café colonial at Gramado to the yearly Confederado celebrations in Americana to the Museum of the Japanese Migrant to the numerous archives of colono heritage that dot southern Brazilian states and beyond, the temporal lineaments of peopling often remain more securely moored to profit, privilege, and the polemical designations of cultural patrimony than to historical probing.[37]

This book hopes to contribute precisely in the spirit of historical inquiry. In doing so, it joins a chorus of sparse but steady voices at

[35] Emílio Willems, *A aculturação dos alemães no Brasil, estudo antropológico dos imigrantes alemães e seus descendentes no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1946); Zuleika Alvim, *Brava gente! Os italianos e São Paulo, 1870–1920* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986); Ricardo da Gama Rosa Costa, "Visões do 'Paraíso capitalista': Hegemonia e poder simbólico na Nova Friburgo da República" (MA Thesis, UFF, 1997); João Raimundo do Araújo, "Nova Friburgo: a construção do mito da Suiça brasileira (1910-1960)" (PhD diss., UFF, 2003).

[36] Carlos Oberacker Jr., *A contribuição teutã à formação da nação brasileira*, vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Presença, 1985), 379–385. First published in German in 1955, this work went through three Portuguese editions in 1968, 1978, and 1985. On mortality rates, see João Biehl, Miquéias Mügge and Ana Maria Goldani, "The Books of the Dead Revisited: Mortality and Morbidity in the German Colonies of Southern Brazil, 1850-1880," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 25, no. 4 (2018): 1197–1217; on colono slaveholding, Paulo Moreira and Miquéias Mügge, *Histórias de escravos e senhores em uma região de imigração europeia* (São Leopoldo: Oikos, 2014); Eugene Cassidy, "The Ambivalence of Slavery, The Certainty of Germanness: Representations of Slave-Holding and Its Impact among German Settlers in Brazil, 1820–1889," *German History* 33, no. 3 (2015): 367–384; Rodrigo Marins Marretto, *A escravidão velada: Senhores e escravos na formação da vila de São João Batista de Nova Friburgo (1820–1850)* (Rio de Janeiro: Revan, 2018).

[37] Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc.* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009); Glen S. Goodman, "Consuming the Café Colonial: German Ethnicity and Tourist Migrant Marketplaces in Southern Brazil," *Global Food History* 4, no. 1 (2018): 40–58.

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different levels of society that have uncompromisingly submitted notions of heritage and historically attendant privileges to critical examination. From Giralda Seyferth's exacting study of the formation of a Germanist ideology to the young descendant of Confederados who, after a sponsored tour in the US South, called received legends into question, discerning views of the past of colonization may yet produce a more accurate account of how those migrations actually took place, even though that resulting account cannot compete with, say, the "Festas do colono" celebrated variously in Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul.[38] The inherent profiteering of the business of colonization, and the privileges that incoming colono cohorts often obtained in its wake, has receded from view in such celebrations and the cultural complexes that sustain them. On offer instead are canards of colono initiative, self-reliance, and achievement.

One wonders how these stories would temper themselves if they reckoned with the fact that they came by design and all too often by corporate fiat. For one thing, such a reflection would illuminate the production of profit as much as the historical construction of privileges that underwrote the very migrant identities that cover up the way those privileges were obtained. Quite importantly, the resulting history would invite us to follow the money and to reckon with how political and social classes with the means to transit between government and private enterprises were enriched at the expense of legions of colonos and the masses of enslaved women and men they were called to "substitute." Colonization by company was just one means to do so, and it was a versatile, consistent, and popular one among ruling elites. Companies served as a refuge after political defeat as with Ottoni, Bocaiúva, and d'Escragnolle Taunay and as a readying ground for professional ascent as with Abrantes and Olinda. Colonization was never about a place or a people so much as a financial interest and a drive for political ascendance. Hence, examining the historical mechanisms of peopling for profit allows us to put an ear not to the paeans of migrant achievement or the cries of huddled masses, but to the hushed self-dealing behind government formation and the whispers that blow through the high halls of power.

[38] Giralda Seyferth, *Nacionalismo e identidade étnica: A ideologia germanista e o grupo étnico teuto-brasileiro numa comunidade do Vale do Itajaí* (Florianópolis: FCC Edições, 1982); Frederik Schulze, "'*Auslandsdeutschtum*' in Brazil (1919–1941): Global Discourses and Local Histories," *German History* 33, no. 3 (2015): 405–422; Carolina Vila-Nova, "Dois jovens paulistas aprenderam a louvar os confederados americanos. Um mudou de ideia," *Folha de São Paulo* (19 Nov. 2020).

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AHI	Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro
AHI-MDB-*x*	AHI-Missões Diplomáticas Brasileiras-(place of appointment)
AHI-RCB-*x*	AHI-Repartições Consulares Brasileiras-(place of appointment)
AHRG	Arquivo Histórico do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre
AMI	Arquivo do Museu Imperial, Petrópolis – Arquivo da Casa Imperial (POB), Casa da Família Imperial (CIB), Coleção Zacarias de Góis e Vasconelos (ZGV)
AN	Arquivo Nacional do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro
APEB-SCP	Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Salvador (Seção Colonial e Provincial)
APERJ-PP	Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (Série Presidência da Província)
APESC	Arquivo Público do Estado de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis
APESP	Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo
APMd	Arquivo Público Mineiro
ARAH	Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional Luís da Silva Ribeiro, Angra do Heroísmo, Azores

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ARPD	Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Ponta Delgada, São Miguel, Azores
ATT	Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
BAd	The Baring Archive
BL	British Library, London
BMI	Biblioteca do Museu Imperial, Petrópolis
BN	Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, RJ
BNd	Biblioteca Nacional Digital, RJ
CPDOC-FGV	Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, RJ
IHGB	Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, RJ – Coleção José Bonifácio (jb), Olinda (o), Senador Nabuco (sn), do Instituto (i), de Ourém (ou), visconde de Mauá (vm)
NAk	National Archives, Kew, London
PGRd	Arquivo Histórico da Procuradoria Geral da República, Ministério Público de Portugal

JOURNALS AND PRIMARY SOURCE COMPENDIA

AAPEB	*Anais do Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia*
ABN	*Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*
ACD	*Anais da Câmara dos Deputados*
ADI	*Arquivo Diplomático da Independência*
AIN	*O Auxiliador da Indústria Nacional*
AS	*Anais do Senado do Império do Brasil*
BPP	*British Parliamentary Papers*
CCHDD	*Cadernos do Centro de História e Documentação Diplomâtica, Fundação Alexandre Gusmão*
CLIB	*Coleção das Leis do Império do Brasil*
DCD	*Diário da Câmara dos Deputados*
HAHR	*Hispanic American Historical Review*
JLAS	*Journal of Latin American Studies*
JSACIB	*Jornal da Sociedade de Agricutlura, Comércio e Indústria da Bahia*
LBR	*Luso-Brazilian Review*
RAPM	*Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*
RBH	*Revista Brasileira de História*
RIC	*Revista de Imigração e Colonização*
RIHGB	*Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Brasil*

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ABBREVIATIONS

cx. caixa (box)
doc. document
env. envelope
f. *folha*/folio (sheet/page)
mç. *maço* (bundle)
pc. *pacote* (packet/bundle)

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Index

A Immigração (newspaper), 304
A Reforma (newspaper), 266
Aberdeen Act, 122, 141–142
Aberdeen, Lord, 140
abolitionists
  British, 2, 6
  Chinese laborers and, 220, 290
  corporate, 81
  initiatives by, 5
  O Philantropo (newspaper) and, 199
Abrantes, visconde/marquês de. *See* Almeida, Miguel Calmon du Pin
Abreu, Antônio Paulino Limpo de, 101, 123, 146–148
abuse
  arbitrary detention and, 314–315
  of Chinese coolies, 177–180, 182–183, 269–270, 287
  colonization crisis and, 211–217
  of colonos, 107–108, 112
  Emigrant Transport Ordinance and, 223
  of enslaved laborers, 139–141, 206
  general, 205–207
  of Italian colonos, 310–311
  of Portuguese colonos, 206–208
  of São Paulo workers, 310
  of Swiss recruits, 209–213
Additional Act of 1834, 82
Affonsiada (colony), 146
aforamentos, 196, 199, 201
Africans
  enslaved, 36, 66–67, 156
  liberated, 11, 23, 104, 106, 130, 202, 249
Agassiz, Louis, 138, 232
Alcântara, prince Pedro de, 120. *See also* Pedro I
Alexander I, tsar, 56
Algeria, 226, 237–238, 256
Almeida, Baptista Caetano de, 93
Almeida, Caetano Furquim de, 239–240
Almeida, Miguel Calmon du Pin e, 74–75, 77–78, 90–100, 115, 121–123, 129–130, 138–145, 149, 151, 159–160, 201
Amaral, Manuel Maria do, 119, 127
Amazon
  colonization of, 29, 35
  colonization plans for, 111, 322
  Hastings and, 294–295
  Journey in Brazil (Agassiz), 232
  pine plantations in, 39
  Plan for National Integration and, 329–332
  Transamazonian Highway in, 329–330
  as tropical Siberia, 315
  US expansion into, 287–288
Amazon Navigation and Colonization Company, 179, 206–207, 223–224, 240, 244, 301
Andrada brothers, 58–59
Andrada, Antônio Carlos de, 57–58, 117–118, 190
Andrada, Martim Francisco Ribeiro de, 36, 58
Anglo-Brazilian Times (newspaper), 232–233

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Angola, 36, 116, 142, 201–203, 239
Annino, Antonio, 310
Antonina, barão de, 117–119, 200
Araújo, Joaquim Aurelio Barreto Nabuco de, 284
Araújo, José Tomás Nabuco de, 210, 237, 266
Arco do Cego, 36
Argentina, 13, 16, 209, 268, 280, 286
Asian Workers Import Association. *See* Sociedade Importadora de Trabalhadores Asiáticos
Asseiceira (colony), 116
Associação Central de Colonização (Central Colonization Association) (ACC), 197–198, 203–204
  cotton production and, 233
  emigration enterprise and, 224, 233
  foundational leadership of, 198–205
  general, 187–190
  Mucury Company and, 195, 197, 220–223
  Olinda's new rules for, 215–216
  Ottoni's appeal to, 197
  post-1860 developments, 219–220
  problems in the, 207–210
Associação Promotora da Colonisação Polaca (Association for the Promotion of Polish Colonization), 227–228
Aubé, Léonce, 148–149, 204
áulicos (palace insiders), 122, 150–153, 181, 183, 190–191, 200–201
Australia
  Chinese laborers in, 272, 274
  colonization literature from, 127–128
  colonization regulations from, 90
  colonos vs. slaves in, 184
  joint-stock companies in, 82
  model work colonies in, 12
  Society for the Promotion of Colonization (SPC), 106–107
  South Australia Colonization Company, 95
  Torrens Act in, 297
  Vergueiro on, 183
  Wakefield system from, 160
Auswanderer-Behörde (Hamburg Emigration Authority), 214
Avelar, João Severino de, 114–116
Avellaneda, Nicolás de, 13–14
Aymard, Jacques-Marie, conde de Gestas, 100–101
Azambuja, Bernardo Augusto Nascentes de, 158, 198–202, 246
Azambuja, Joaquim Nascentes de, 146–147
Azores
  colonos from, 15, 30, 37, 82–83, 107–112, 114–115, 162, 171, 203
  Fayal, 93, 97, 110
  Flores, 93
  general, 28–30, 34, 117
  migrants in Rio de Janeiro, 115–116
  Pedro I resident in, 76
  São Miguel, 93, 109
  Terceira, 93, 110
  vice-consul politics in, 103

Badaró, Giovanni Battista Libero, 76
Baependi, visconde de, 113, 164–165
Bahia (province), 19, 40–41. *See also* Companhia Colonizadora da Bahia
  Chinese colonos in, 180–181
  colonization beginnings in, 118–119
  Freyreiss in, 41
  German colonos in, 43–44, 48, 57–58, 64
  government focus on, 173
  Irish colonos in, 71
  Italian/Portuguese colonos in, 219
  land grants in, 56
  Martins in, 169
  Olinda on, 131
  Rio Pardo colony in, 226
  shareholder oligarchies in, 82
  Sociedade Bahiana de Imigração in, 295–304
  Sociedade Internacional de Imigração in, 240
  Sturz in, 89
  trafficking ploys in, 114, 156–158
  troubles in, 53, 81
  Vergueiros in, 173, 183
Bahia Colonization Company (Companhia Colonizadora da Bahia), 90–100
Bahne, Luiz, 167
Balaiada (in Maranhão), 81
Ball, Molly, 333–334
Bandeira, Sá da, 108, 116
banks
  Banco de Ultramar, 299
  Banco di Napoli, 313
  Banco do Brasil, 114, 252, 275
  Banco Mercantil Portuense, 255
  Bancos da lavoura (rural banks), 197

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Barbacena, visconde/marquês de, 70, 75, 77, 103, 127. *See also* Pontes, Felisberto Caldeira Brant
Barbosa, Januário da Cunha, 66
Barbosa, Rui, 316–317
Barros, Domingo Borges de, 51, 70, 127
Barros, Sebastião do Rego, 167
Bastos, Aureliano Tavares, 224, 240–241, 245, 255–256
Bastos, José Tavares, 210–211
Becquay plan, 85–86
Benguela, 36, 144
Benjamin, George, 117–119
Bentham, Jeremy, 1
Bittencourt, Antonio Correia de Mendonça, 171
Bivar, Diogo Soares da Silva, 106, 110–113
Bloêm, Johann, 118
Blumenau (colony), 167, 256
Blumenau, Hermann, 130, 204, 212–213
Blumenbach, Johann, 39–40
Bocaiúva, Quintino, 239–244, 246–247, 249, 262–265
Bodio, Luigi, 312–313
Bolívar, Simón, 14
Bolivia, 329
Bonaparte, Jérôme, 41–42
Bonito, Rio, 286
Bordier, Arthur, 298
Borrell, Charles-Louis, 41–42
Bösche, Eduard, 61–62
Bosi, Alfredo, 4
Bragança dynasty, 5, 27, 32
Bragança, duke of. *See* Pedro I
Bragança, João de, 27. *See also* João VI
Bragança, Miguel de, 73
Bragança, Pedro de, 38–39, 50–51. *See* Pedro I
Branco, Manuel Alves (visconde de Caravelas), 93–94, 159
Brazil and the Brazilians (Fletcher, Kidder), 232, 269
Brazilian Colonization Company, 109–110, 319
Bremen, 63, 118, 134–135, 205, 218–219
Breves, Joaquim José de Souza, 158
British American Land Company, 95
British East India Company, 30–31, 325
British Isles. *See* Great Britain
Brunilati, Attilo, 311
Bülow, baron Heinrich von, 141
Burajiru Takushoku Gaisha (Brazil Colonization Company), 109–110, 319
Burlamaque, Frederico Leopoldo César, 146, 160
Bussche, W.F. baron von dem, 41–42

Cabanagem rebellion, 81, 212
Cairu, barão de (Lisboa, Bento da Silva)), 161–162
Callado, Eduardo, 282–283, 287
cameral sciences and cameralism, 1, 28, 35, 37, 39
Campos, Francisco Alvares da Silva, 308
Canada Company, 95–96
Canary Islands, 15, 101–102
Canavieiras (port), 44
Canitz, baron Karl Ernst von, 141–142
Cape of Good Hope, 12, 56, 213, 239, 280, 316–317
Caravelas, visconde de. *See* Branco, Manuel Alves
Cardoso, Manoel de Almeida, 175
Carvalho, Augusto de, 298–299
Carvalho, José da Costa (marquês de Monte Alegre), 118, 129–130, 168, 201, 204
Carvalho, José Murilo de, 10, 145–146
Carvalho, Pedro Affonso de, 146
Casa da Moeda, 35–36
Cavalcanti, Antônio Francisco de Paula Holanda, 92, 111–112, 114–115, 123
Caymari, Bernardo, 244–246, 282
CCB. *See* Companhia Colonizadora da Bahia
Ceará, 81
Central Association for German Emigration and Colonization Matters, 217–218
Central Colonization Association (ACC). *See* Associação Central de Colonização
Central Immigration Society. *See* Sociedade Central de Imigração
Chamber of Deputies
  Almeida and, 114
  authority over colonization, 77
  Azambuja and, 246
  Bastos' liberal agenda and, 314
  commission on takeover plans (1833), 97–98
  Conselho de Estado and, 128, 158
  d'Escragnolle Taunay and, 297
  fraud claims and, 327–328
  Hamburger Colonisations-Vereins and, 189
  Monmerqué project, 212–213

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Chamber of Deputies (cont.)
Mure project and, 124–125
Olinda and, 164
Ottoni and, 236, 246, 276–277
Parigot project, 125
Pedro I and, 89–91
peopling policies and, 66, 84, 108–109, 282
post-abdication deliberations, 81, 123–124
projeto no. 94 and, 128–130, 145
Rio Doce valley development, 86, 110
Society for the Promotion of Colonization (SPC) and, 103
van Koseritz elected to provincial, 295
Veiga project and, 203–204
Chile, 17, 213–215, 280
Chinese immigration, 154, 173–181, 184, 194–195, 261–277, 306
Chinese question, 262–263, 274–277, 281–290
Circal, barão de, 174–175
Cisplatina province, 34, 38–39, 52–53, 71, 127
Cisplatina War, 54–55, 73
class divisions, 277–278, 333–334
Clermont-Tonnerre, Stanislas de, 59–60
Coahuila y Texas (Mexican state), 9–10
coffee trade
abuse of Italian colonos and, 296, 309–310
Chinese laborers and, 321, 336
decline of, 297–299
duties on, 173
factors, 301–302, 318
Hamburg merchant exports of, 134, 148, 168
internationalization of, 285
Land Law (1850) and, 181, 191–192, 231–232
legislation and, 128, 146, 152
production, 34, 110, 171, 205–208, 298, 315
versus sugar production, 211–212
Cohn, Francisco Leão, 241
Coimbra University, 35–36, 59, 81, 95, 101, 114, 123
Colombia, 316
colônias de parceria (sharecropping colonies), 118–119, 162, 172, 224–225, 249–251
colonisation chez les peuples modernes, La (Leroy-Beaulieu), 270–271, 298, 322
colonization companies, early, 81–83
colono trade
clandestine, 95
colonization agents and, 168–169, 174–180, 252–253
Cuba and Puerto Rico and, 15
Emigrant Transport Ordinance and, 216, 234, 245, 269–271, 303
emigration promotion and, 219–221, 231–232, 246–248
general, 9–10, 17, 22, 103, 113–115, 183, 205–206, 241–242
Olinda and, 195–199
Ottoni and, 195–196
recruitment drive, 116–118, 121, 123–124, 206–208
slave trafficking and, 95, 195–199
Sociedade Promotora de Colonização and, 127–132
Vergueiro & Co., 172–173
colonos. *See also* Azores: colonos from
abuse of, 107–108, 112
African, 114
from China, 284–285
German, 42, 59–60, 92, 333
Italian, 310–311
migrant cultural identity and, 334–336
misbehavior of, 73
at Nova Friburgo, 47, 49, 165
Ottoni, Teófilo and, 195–196
recruitment of, 45, 97, 205
riots, 54–55
Saxony, 52–53
Swiss, 42, 47–48, 69
trade in general, 259–260
trade, Brazil-wide, 70, 114–116, 218–220
Comissão Central Directora da Colonização (Central Commission for Directing Colonization), 135–137
Commercial Code, 16–17
Companhia Colonizadora da Bahia (Bahia Colonization Company, 90–100
Companhia Colonizadora da Bahia (CCB)
history of, 90–100
influentialness of, 117
organizational structure of, 202
problems in the, 114
slave trafficking and, 149
Sociedade Promotora de Colonização and, 100–101, 103

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Companhia de Comércio e Imigração Chineza (Chinese Commerce and Immigration Company), 287
Companhia de Navegação, Comércio e Colonização do Rio Doce. *See* Rio Doce Company
Companhia do Rio Doce. *See* Rio Doce Company
Companhia Geral de Grão-Pará e Maranhão, 30–31
Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba, 35–36
Companhia Progresso Agrícola, 300
Companhia Promotora da Colonisação de Chins (Company for the Promotion of Chinese Colonization), 30–31, 173, 180
Companhia União e Indústria, 196–197
conciliation (*conciliação*)
  cabinet, 166, 168, 210
  politics of, 188, 222–223
  post-, 197, 221
Confederados, 265, 319, 335–336
Confederate emigration, 228, 230–239, 287, 296–298, 302–303
Congress of Vienna, 38–39
Conselho de Estado (Council of State)
  1856 credit line and, 220
  Affonsiada (colony) and, 146
  Araújo Lima's tenure in, 121–122
  Confederate emigration and, 237
  Delrue contracts and, 144–145
  establishment of, 59–60
  naturalized citizens' rights and, 222
  regulatory and policy oversight by, 122–133, 252, 255, 259, 272, 281–282
  royal authority over, 149–151
Conselho de Imigração e Colonização (Council on Immigration and Colonization) (CIC), 324–327
Conservatives
  colonization policy-making, 145–146, 209, 323
  Free Womb bill/law and, 6–7, 328–329
  Olinda and, 266, 277–278
  Ottoni versus, 236–237
  Party of Order and, 154
  party pendulum and, 149–150
  restorationist talk and, 99
Constant, Benjamin, 59–60
constitutionalists, 73–74
convicts and convict colonies, 1, 30–31, 73, 106–107, 121
Coolie Honeypot Affair, 265–269
Coolie trade, 23
Coolies
  from China, 154–155, 173–181, 184, 194–195, 261–262, 269–277, 287, 306
  from Mauritius, 278, 280–281, 289–290
corporate colonization, 187
Costa, João Severiano Maciel da, 59
Cotegipe, barão de. *See* Dantas, Rodolfo de Sousa (barão de Cotegipe)
Cotter, William, 64
cotton production
  in Algeria, 237–238
  British, 69
  international ventures in, 238
  in Maranhão, 146
  in São Paulo province, 237–238
  in southern Bahia, 43–44
  in United States, 139
  World Cotton Centennial, 285
Coutinho, Aureliano de Souza Oliveira, 93, 120–122, 133–136
Coutinho, Rodrigo de Souza, 31–35
Coutinho, Saturnino de Souza Oliveira, 136–147
Criminal Process Code, 81
Crispi, Francesco, 310–312
Cuba, 15
  colonos from, 15, 23
  coolie trade to, 261–263, 268, 270, 276
  deportations to, 11
  peopling policies in, 16
  recruitment network in, 244–255
  slave trade and slavery in, 114–116, 149–150
  sugar trade in, 277–278
  Ten Years' War and, 254
cultural identity, migrant, 334–336

Da liberdade religiosa no Brasil (Macedo), 240–241
Dantas, Rodolfo de Sousa (barão de Cotegipe), 246–247, 255, 267–268, 301
Davatz, Thomas, 209–213
degredos. *See* convict colonies
Delrue, Charles and Delrue affair, 142–147
Desterro, 11, 37, 199
Deutscher Freihafen (newspaper), 148

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Diário do Rio de Janeiro (newspaper), 230, 241–242, 254, 262, 264
Dona Francisca colony, 130, 150–151, 167, 302–304
Drummond, Antônio Menezes de Vasconcelos, 92, 101, 121–124, 159
Drummond, Gaspar de Vasconcelos, 158–159
Dutch East India Company, 67, 325
Duval, George Vincent, 69, 139–140
Duval, Jules, 256, 298–299

East India Company, 30
Eben, Friedrich Christian von, 44–45
Emigrant Transport Ordinance (1858), 216, 234, 245, 269–271, 303
emphytheusis, 34, 199
England and America (Wakefield), 146–147
epidemics, 101–102, 158, 206–207, 260, 278, 314
Eschwege, Wilhelm von, 36
Estudos sobre o casamento civil (Herculano), 240–241
exaltados, 74, 76, 81, 190

Farol Paulistano (newspaper), 71
Farroupilha rebellion, 99–100
Feijó, Diogo Antonio, 96–97, 111
Felício, Rodrigo Pereira, 240
Felizardo, Manoel, 172–173, 183–184, 201, 212–213
Fernando Noronha island, 306–307
Ferraz, Luiz Pedreira do Couto, 166–167, 174, 176, 199, 213
Ferraz, Ângelo Muniz da Silva, 213, 219
Ferreira, Silvestre Pinheiro, 36, 94–95, 161
Fialho, Francisco José, 201
Filadelfia (colony), 194, 196, 222, 321–322
Filho, José Pereira Rego, 298–299
Fonseca, Deodoro da, 308, 314
Fonseca, Manoel Pinto da, 156
forais (ecclesiastical and Crown lands), 34
foreign workers. *See* colonos
Fourier, Charles, 11, 125, 161
França, Ernesto Ferreira, 214–215
França, Manuel José de Sousa, 66
France
  collective business organizations in, 85–86
  February Revolution in, 183
  invasion of French colonies, 33
  relations with, 75, 284–285
  shareholding in, 103
  Société Jean-François Cail & Compagnie, 277–278
  Treaty of Villafranca, 272
  treaty with Great Britain, 279
Francis I (Austria), 56. *See also* Francis II
Francis II (Holy Roman Emperor), 38–39
Francisca, princess, 122, 130, 148–149
Franco, Bernardo de Souza, 119, 127–130, 159, 223
Frankfurt, 48, 142, 148, 219–220
Free Womb bill/law and, 6–7, 328–329
Freese, John Henry, 87
Freitas, Augusto Teixeira de, 304–306
Freyreiss, Georg Wilhelm, 40–42
Fröbel, Günther, 141
Fundação Brasil Central (Central Brazil Foundation) (FBC), 326, 328

Gachet, Sébastien-Nicolas, 55–56
Galt, John, 95
Galvão, Ignácio da Cunha, 161–162, 264, 266, 268–269
Galvão, Manoel da Cunha, 163
Gama, Nicolau Antonio Nogueira Valle da (visconde de Baependi), 264
Gama, Nogueira da family, 102–103
Gaston, James McFadden, 234
Gavião, Bernardo José Pinto, 117–119
Germany
  Badaró, Giovanni Battista Libero, 76
  as business model, 42
  colonos from, 42, 49, 69, 73, 104, 114, 131–132, 147, 171, 189–190, 205, 209, 268, 270–271, 273
  empresarios from, 32, 40–41, 48–53, 69, 130, 217–218
  ideas from, 32, 50, 62
  migrant cultural identity with, 334–336
  São Leopoldo colony and, 59–60
  travelers from, 47
  workers from, 52–53, 332
Gestas, conde de, 100–101
Glicério Law, 305–306, 309
Godeffroy, Johann, 214–215
Godwin, William, 1, 72
Goicuria, Domingo de, 248–255
golpe da maioridade (Majority Coup), 114, 120
Gomes, Higino Pires, 156–158, 183

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Gordon, Robert, 64
Göttingen University, 17, 35–36, 39–42, 49, 117–118, 167, 217–218
Goyanna Brasileira company, 117–118
Great Britain. *See also* Portuguese Civil War
  Anglo-Brazilian relations, 138–140, 145
  British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 287
  British East India Company, 30–31, 325
  British emigration, 127
  Chinese colonization project and, 287
  Chinese colonos and, 174, 180, 216, 270–271, 277, 280, 283
  colono trade and, 89–90, 103
  commercial treaties with, 12–13
  coolie repatriation efforts, 289
  France's treaty with, 279
  imperialism over Brazilian Empire, 12, 224–225
  slave trade, suppression of by, 2, 6, 38
  sociedade anônima and, 16
  South American Corporation and, 316–317
  Sugar Duties Act, 142
  war with Chinese empire and, 174–175
Grossi, Vincenzo, 322–323
Guangdong province, 218
Guarapuava (sertão de), 37, 85
Guerra, Alves, 97
Gunther, Charles Godfrey, 251

H. Laemmert & C., 113, 301
Haack, Carlos Charles, 143
Hahnemann, Samuel, 125
Hall, Michael, 295, 300
Hamburg, 218
  Barbacena in, 103
  coffee export business in, 134, 148, 168
  colono vessels from, 48, 52, 150–151
  as emigrant exit port, 135, 148, 218
  Georg Friedrich Schmidt in, 127
  Menezes in, 92
  recruitment activity and, 167, 194, 197, 213, 221
  Schäffer's activities in, 61–62
  Sloman's activities in, 213
Hamburg Emigration Authority (Auswanderer-Behörde), 214
Hamburger Colonisations-Vereins (Hamburg Colonization Society) (HCV), 136–147, 184–191, 218
  origins, 183
  reorganization of, 218
  settlers imported by, 150–151
  Vasconcelos critique of, 150
Hamilton-Gordon, George. *See* Aberdeen, Lord
Harrah, C. J., 240
Hastings, Lansford Warren, 235–236
Haupt, Herman, 240
HCV. *See* Hamburger Colonisations-Vereins
Herculano, Alexandre, 240–241
Heusser, Jakob, 209–213
Heydt Rescript, 297, 302
Heydt, August von der, 218
Hilldebrand, Daniel, 63
Histoire de l'émigration (Duval), 298–299
Hofwil (school), 85, 161
Holanda, Sérgio Buarque de, 6
Holy Alliance, 32, 45, 47, 61, 67, 75
Hong Kong, 181, 219–220
Hörmeyer, Joseph, 213–214
hospedarias, 293–295
Hubert, Adolph, 241
Hudson, James, 159
Hühn, W., 217–218

Ibicaba plantation, 118–119, 217–218, 263–264
Idéas sobre colonisação (Werneck), 201
IHGB (Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro), 90, 214–215
immigration infrastructure, 293–295
Impressão Régia, 37
Indian workers, 262
Indians (*índios*)
  colonization of, 50–51, 68
  Companhias Gerais policy and, 31
  Directorate of, 30, 87, 191
  racism against, 265, 270–271
  repatriation question and, 288–289
  servitude of, 45, 194, 262–263, 277–281
  Sociedade contra o Tráfico de Africanos e Promotora da Colonização e da Civilização dos Indígenas (Society for the End of the African Slave Trade and for the Promotion of Colonization and the Civilization of Indians, SCT), 154, 159–164, 193, 199–205, 333–334
  war against, 37, 45, 69, 85, 194, 200
indigenous peoples
  class and racial divisions and, 333–334

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indigenous peoples (cont.)
colonies for, 212, 249–251
colonization versus settler-colonialism and, 4–5
Comissão Central Directora da Colonização (Central Commission for Directing Colonization and, 135
Commission on Indigenous Catechism, Statistics and Colonization, 88
Directorate of Indians and, 35
displacement of, 322
Filadelfia (colony) and, 240–241
management of, 10, 22–23, 41, 67–68, 84–85, 266
Portuguese Crown and, 33
Rio Doce aldeamento of, 111
sale of to Goicuria family, 308
Schäffer in Leopoldina and, 51
treatment of, 45
Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (Historical and Geographic Institute of Brazil) (IHGB), 90, 214–215
Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (IHGB), 90, 214–215
International Immigration Society. *See* Sociedade Internacional de Imigração
Interpretive Law of the Additional Act (1840), 122. *See also* Additional Act of 1834
Ipanema, visconde de, 178, 201
Irish mercenary recruits, 14, 64, 66–67, 70–71, 77, 88–89, 114
Isabel, princess regent, 259–260
Italy
Brazilian Conference on Immigration and Colonization and, 327
colonos from, 99, 218–219, 302, 308–309
Prinetti decree and, 309–320

Jardim, Lourenço Justiniano, 93–94
Jasienski, Anton von Ladislaw, 227–230
Jefferson, Thomas, 31
Jequitinhonha, visconde, 237
João VI
Bahia (province) exploration and, 41
dízima imposed, 32
enterprises sanctionned by, 44
Liberal Revolution and, 50
migrant reception policy and, 46–47
peopling policies and, 21–22, 28
strategic maneuvers, 38–39
Joinville, prince of, 148–149
Journey in Brazil (Agassiz), 232

Kaigai Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha (Overseas Development Company), 319
Kalkmann, Louis Friedrich, 62–63, 136
Kardec, Allan, 241
Koeler, Julius Friedrich, 111–113, 136–137, 144
Koster, Henry, 27
Kruzenshtern, Adam J. von, 40

Laborde, Alexandre, 85–86
Lacaille, Jean-Baptiste, 177–178
Laemmert, Henrique, 113, 301
Laërne, C. van Delden, 287–288
Lage, Antônio Martins, 111, 269
Lage, Mariano Procópio Ferreira (Procópio), 197, 327–330
Lahmeyer, Henrique, 241
Lajes, Senator Conde de, 94
land bills
of 1827, 70, 127
of 1840, 127–131
of 1843, 121–122
provincial law (1840), 135, 143
Land Law (1850), 119, 145–146, 181, 189–192, 198–199, 231–232
land leases (*aforamentos*), 196, 199, 201
Land Ordinance (1854), 198–199
Lands and Colonization Directorate, 198–199, 201, 246, 305, 318
Langsdorff, Georg Heinrich von, 38–41, 44, 48–50
Leão, Honório Hermeto Carneiro (Paraná, marquês de), 85, 103, 137, 234, 271
Lede, Charles van, 126, 131–132, 146–147
lei locação de serviços
of 1828 and 1830, 103–106
of 1837, 106, 149
of 1879, 297
Lemos, Miguel, 284–285
Leopoldina (colony), 42–44, 298
Leopoldina, princess, 38–39, 42–43, 51, 53, 62, 73
Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, 270, 298–299, 307, 322
Liberal Revolution, 50
liberals
centrist, 266

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colonization law and, 145–146
French, 85–86
generation of 1870, 286–287
multi-party cooperation and, 188, 213–214
partisan see-sawing and, 149–150
party organization, 267–268
radical, 68
Sociedade contra o Tráfico (SCT) and, 154, 159–164, 193, 199–205, 333–334
Lima, José Cerqueira, 95–96, 98
Lima, José Custódio Alves de, 283
Lima, Pedro de Araújo (visconde/marquês de Olinda)
Interpretive Law of the Additional Act and, 122
Pedro I restoration plans and, 77
policy-making, 119, 121–123, 129–131
political capital of, 78, 113
Regresso and, 123
Sociedade Promotora de Colonização (Society for the Promotion of Colonization) and, 101, 103, 111
Lisboa, Bento da Silva, 130–131, 147. *See also* barão de Cairu
Lisboa, José Antônio, 67
Lisboa, José da Silva, 28, 161–162
Lopes, Valentim José da Silveira, 300
Lu, Sidney, 318–319

Macau, 51, 332–333
Macedo, Joaquim Manuel de, 2–5, 44, 159
Machado, João da Silva (barão de Antonina), 117–119, 200
Madeira, 29–30
Majority Coup (golpe da maioridade), 114, 120
Malê Muslims, 81
Malheiro, Pedro Miranda, 46–47, 52, 63–64, 66, 70
Malthus, Thomas, 1, 91
Maranhão (state of), 81, 127, 146, 170, 179
María Carlota, princess, 33
Maria da Glória (Maria II), 73–75, 107–108, 116
Maria I, 38–39
Marinho, Joaquim Saldanha, 230
Marlière, Guido Thomas, 87
Martins, Francisco Gonçalves, 169–170, 198
Martins, Maria Fernanda Vieira, 123–124
Martius, Carl Friedrich Philip von, 130–131
Marx, Karl, 11
Masurel, Victor, 256–257
Mattos, Raimundo da Cunha, 68–69
Mauá, visconde de (Souza, Irineu Evangelista de)
Amazon Navigation and Colonization Company and, 179
collapse of dominion, 277–281
Lansford Warren Hastings and, 235
Mucury Company and, 191
repatriation question and, 277–281
Mauritius
Coolies from, 278, 280–281, 289–290
French threat of invasion, 33
Indian workers in, 278, 280–281, 289
Maury, Matthew Fontaine, 231–234
Maximilian I (Mexican empire), 15
Melo, Sebastião José de Carvalho e (marquês de Pombal), 8, 30–31, 33, 67, 91
Mendes, Cândido, 271
Menezes. *See* Drummond, Antônio Menezes de Vasconcelos
mercenaries. *See* Pedro I (Pedro de Bragança); Irish mercenary recruits
1828 revolts by, 70–71
conscripted by Pedro I, 21, 52–54, 77
Irish, 76–77
Pedro I's peopling policy and, 71
press reports about, 73
Merck, Ernst von, 148
Mesquita, Elpidio de, 314–315
Metternich, prince (Austria), 56, 61
Mexico, 92, 233–234, 282–283, 294
migrant settlers. *See* colonos
migrants. *See* colonos
migration, mass, 293–296
miguelistas, 73–74
Mikoszewski, Karol, 228–229
Milet, Henri Auguste, 272
Miller, George (Henrique), 87
Minas Gerais, 12
Moçâmedes, 202
moderados, 76
moderating power, 71–72, 153–154
Mongolization. *See* Chinese question
Monmerqué, Gustave Oelsner de, 170
Monte Alegre, visconde/marquês de (Costa Carvalho, José da), 118, 129–130, 168, 201, 204
Montezuma, Francisco Jê de Acaiaba (visconde Jequitinhonha), 112, 237

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Montravel, Félix de, 204, 213
Mora, Fausta, 244–246
Moreira, Henrique Correa, 273–274
Moreira, Joaquim Baptista, 206–207
Moreira, José Antonio (visconde de Ipanema), 178, 201
Moreira, Nicolau, 264–265, 271, 301
Mota, Artur Silveira da, 282–283
Mota, José Inácio Silveira da, 241, 282–283, 294, 301
Mozambique, 33
Mucury Company, 179, 187–188, 221–223
Municipal Code (1838), 106
Mure, Benoît Jules, 124–125
Muritiba, barão de (Manuel Vieira Tosta), 197, 204–205, 208–209, 273

Nabuco, Joaquim, 284
Napoléon, 5, 21, 27, 31, 38
Napoléon III, 272
Nathan, Charles, 245
Nathan, George, 269
National Guard, 81
naturalization
  mass, 304–305
  under Pedro I, 90–91
  policies, 92, 148, 164–165, 187, 207, 247–248
  reforms, 304–306, 314
  of Schäffer, Anton von, 63
Nelis, Joseph Ludgero, 125–126
New Brunswick & Nova Scotia Land Company, 95
New York
  Anglo-Brazilian Times in, 232
  Bocaiúva in, 280, 302
  contrasted with Brazil, 15
  Cuban migrants via, 304–307
  emigration packages from, 303
  Ohio Canal in, 108
  US Southerner emigration from, 296
  William Godwin on, 91
New Zealand (Colonization) Company, 134
Nicholas I, tsar, 11
Nicosia, Salvatore, 307–309
Nova Friburgo (colony), 45–48, 65, 166–167, 334–335
Nova Friburgo, barão de, 168–169, 203, 206–207

O Brazil: colonisação e emigração (de Carvalho), 298–299
O Philantropo (newspaper), 159–162, 199–203
O Républicо (journal), 73
O Tamoio (newapaper), 58
Oberacker, Carlos, 335
Observador Constitucional, 76
oligarchies, 277. *See also* shareholder oligarchies
Olinda Law School, 170–171
Olinda, visconde/marquês de. *See also* Araújo Lima, Pedro de
  colonization crisis and, 211–217
  colonization reform and, 274–279
  ministry of, 188–198
  policy-making, 21, 131–132, 169
Oliveira, Cândido Baptista de (Vadius), 144, 204–205, 271
Ordinance for State Colonies (1867), 21, 257
Orléans, Louis-Phillipe d', 148–149
Ortiz de Ayala, Tadeo, 14
Ottoni brothers, 146, 196
Ottoni, Honório Esteves, 191
Ottoni, Teófilo
  A Reforma (newspaper) and, 266
  Chinese laborers and, 179
  colono-purveying and, 195–196, 208
  eponymous colony, 321–322
  Mucury Company and, 220–223
  policy-making, 122, 187
  SCT membership, 159
Overseas Development Company (Kaigai Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha), 319
Owen, Robert, 161
Oxenford, Edward, 69

palace insiders (*áulicos*), 122, 150–153, 181, 183, 190–191, 200–201
Pará (province), 117, 140, 168, 179, 227, 308–309, 322, 329
Paraná, marquês de, 188. *See also* Leão, Honório Hermeto Carneiro
Paravicini, Emil, 209–213
Parigot, Jules, 125, 135–142
Parisian recuitment agencies, 208–209
Passos, Manuel da Silva, 107
Patrocíno, José do, 284
Pedro I (Pedro de Bragança), 50–51, 120
  abdication, 71, 76
  colonization under, 22, 53–55, 71–73, 78
  Conselho de Estado (Council of State) and, 59–60
  constraints on financial power, 65–66
  executive/legislative cleavage under, 55–56
  marriage, 39

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mercenary troops and, 21, 52–54, 58
military defense and, 61
post-independence government and, 60
reclaiming Portuguese crown, 75–78
recolonizing party and, 74
slave trade treaty and, 64–65
Pedro II, emperor
áulicos and moderating power of, 120–133
Bocaiúva and, 245–246
conciliação and 1857 cabinet, 187–190
Ferraz and, 154–167
general, 15, 114, 146, 197
IIFA meeting and, 264
Jasienski and, 227–228
land bill project, 127–128
Petrópolis plans and, 135–138
railroads and railways, 208, 318, 327–330
Regency of, 81
travels of, 259–260
Peel, Robert, 140
Peixoto, Bernardo Gavião, 118
Peixoto, Floriano, 308
Pernambuco (state of), 56, 81, 106
Pessoa, José Eloy, 66–67
Petrópolis (colony), 137–138, 141, 152, 170–172, 178–179, 191, 207, 213–214, 245, 277
Peycke, Peter, 41–42
Pimentel, Manuel do Valadão, 101–102
Pinheiro, José Feliciano Fernandes, 34–35, 59–60, 70
Pinto, Antonio Clemente (barão de Nova Friburgo), 165, 168–169, 207
Platine War, 154
Poland
Associação Promotora da Colonisação Polaca (Association for the Promotion of Polish Colonization), 227–228
emigration from, 227–230
rebellion of 1863, 227
Sociedade Colonizadora Pereira Alves, Bendaszewski & Cia, 229–230
Polish uprising (1831), 98
Pombal, marquês de (Sebastião José Carvalho e Melo), 8, 30–31, 33, 67, 91
Pontes, Felisberto Caldeira Brant (marquês de Barbacena), 55–56, 64, 66, 75
Portugal
anti-abuse law, 207
civil war, 54–55, 73, 103–105
colonos from, 196–197, 200–201, 206–207
succession crisis, 73
Portugal, Tomás Antônio de Vilanova, 44–49
Portuguese Civil War, 54–55, 73, 103–105
posses (of land), 127–128, 192. *See also* squatters
Prado family, 300–304
Prado, Antônio da Silva, 117–119, 266–267, 310, 316, 318
Prado, Caio, Jr., 6
Prado, Joaquim da Silva, 117–119
press, Chinese laborers and, 274–277
press gag law, 102
press reports, 54, 70–71
"coolie honeypot" affair in, 267
attitudes to colonos in, 72, 246–247
Chinese laborers in, 177–179, 264
colono contract irregularities in, 207–208
Delrue affair in, 143–144
Diário do Rio de Janeiro, 241–242, 254, 262, 264
land distribution practises in, 331
slavers' activities in, 156
prestação de serviço (law on service contracts), 98
Prinetti decree, 296, 309–320
Prosperidade Company, 171
provincial law (1840), 135
Provincias Unidas de la Plata, 13
Puerto Rico, 15, 18, 54

Qing empire, 10, 174, 261–264, 273–276, 282–283, 288
Queirós, Eusébio de, 104–106, 178, 237
Queirós, Francisco Antonio de Sousa, 118. *See also* Machado, João da Silva

Racine, Eduardo, 146
racism and prejudice
anti-Black sentiment, 235–236
against Chinese, 264–265, 272, 274–275, 284–285, 290, 321–322
class divisions, 277–278, 333–334
colonization as applied science and, 298–299
color-blind race principles in migration policy, 382
race divisions and, 333–334
racial whitening, goal of, 6
railroads and railways
Belgian, 155
Cail & Co. and, 277–278
Chinese laborers and, 232, 327
Gaston and, 234

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railroads and railways (cont.)
Gunther and, 309
impact on colonization, 17
land prices impacted by, 199
Metropolitan Rail, 307–308
Pedro II, 208, 318, 327–330
Petrópolis Railroad Company, 261
Santos-Jundiaí, 280
Transcontinental, 322
Ramos, Matheus, 127
Ravan, François, 256
Real Ordem do Cristo, 62–63
Rebello, José Silvestre, 86
Rebouças, André Pereira, 299–300
Recke, Adalbert von der, 131
recruitment, 206–208
colono trade and, 45, 97, 116–118, 121, 123–124, 205–208
in Cuba, 244–255
in Hamburg and, 167, 194, 197, 213, 221
Parisian agencies for, 208–209
Regency, 27, 76, 78, 99–105, 159, 259–260
Regresso, 123
Regulamento de transporte de emigrantes (Emigrant Transport Ordinance), 216, 234, 245, 269–271, 303
Reis, Arthur Cezar Ferreira, 329
Rezanov, Nicolai, 40
Rheingantz, Jacob, 204
Ribeiro, Duarte da Ponta, 92
Ribeiro, José Cesário de Miranda, 127–128, 131, 145–146
Ricardo, David, 91
Rio de Janeiro. *See also Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (newspaper)
Azorean migrants in, 115–116
Chinese migrant entries into, 174–175
coffee production and, 29
colonos importation numbers in, 248, 259, 305
Commercial Association membership, 241
enslaved labor in, 2
hospedarias in, 294
Immigration Service in, 317
Positivist Society of, 284–285
provincial colonization in, 133–138, 164, 181, 224–225
transformation to capital, 5, 27
Río de la Plata, 33
Rio Doce Company, 86–90
Rio Grande de São Pedro (province), 29. *See also* Rio Grande do Sul (province)
Rio Grande do Sul (province)
colono trade set for, 224
descendants from, 322
enslaved Africans in, 156
Germans in, 90, 209–210, 273
highway development in, 322, 329–330
hospedarias in, 294
impact of social history in, 333
Koseritz in, 295
peopling policies in, 21, 40–41, 71–72
presidency of, 266
Ripon, Lord, 140
Rivadavia, Bernardino, 13
Rocha Galvão, Inocêncio da, 159–163, 234, 251, 265, 268
Rodrigues de Carvalho, João Antonio, 66
Rodrigues, António Coelho, 272
Rodrigues, Antônio Marques, 170–171
Rodrigues, Francisco Marques, 170–172
Rodrigues, Isidoro Marques, 171
Rosales, Vicente Pérez, 13–14
Rosas, Juan Manuel de, 13, 140, 154
Rossi, Adolfo, 310
Rothschild, Nathaniel, 61
Ruffino, Augusto Bosco di, 311–312
Russell, John, 89–90
Russian-American Company, 11, 40, 42

Sabinada (in Bahia), 81
Sabinada rebellion, 99–100, 159
SAIN. *See* Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional
Saint-Simon, Henri and Saint-Simonians, 11, 84, 149, 161, 215, 256
Salvador, 81, 98, 106, 109–110, 115, 181
Sampson & Tappan operation, 175–176, 194–195
Santa Catarina
Azorean colonos in, 30
d'Escragnolle Taunay in, 297
displacement and environmental degradation in, 322
Joinvilles in, 148–149
purveying colonos to, 150–151, 156
settlements in, 124
Sociedade Central de Imigração in, 301
van Lede in, 126
Santo Amaro, marquês de, 75

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Santos
colonization company, 146–148, 163–164, 249–250
French Consul in, 170
general, 144–145, 302–305, 310
migrant arrivals in, 179–180, 305
Santos-Jundiaí railroad, 280
Santos colonization company, 118–119, 129–130, 200
Santos, Ezequiel Corrêa dos, 159
São Francisco, barão de, 173
São Leopoldo colony, 59–60
São Paulo
background, 21
colonization companies for, 117
cotton production in, 237–238
German immigrants in, 333
hospedarias in, 294
migrant imports into, 207–208, 283, 309–310, 319, 322
Prado family in, 300–304
province, 6–7, 21, 118–119, 147, 164, 228, 234, 319, 334
racism in, 272
representative Bonifácio and, 50
Sociedade Central de Imigração in, 296
Sociedade Promotora de Imigração in, 301–304
Vergueiros family in, 118–120, 144–145, 154, 164, 183
São Paulo Law School, 118, 166
Sarmiento, Domingo Faustino, 13–14, 137–138
Saúde, Ferreiras da, 156
Schäffer, Anton von, 42–43, 53, 56, 59–64, 73, 92
Schleswig-Holstein War, 150, 167, 183
Schlichthorst, Carl, 73
Schmidt, Georg Friedrich, 127, 134
Schmidt, H. G., 49–51, 127, 148
Schröder, Christian Mathias, 136–147, 159, 183–190, 217–218
SCI. *See* Sociedade Central de Imigração
Scully, William, 232, 240, 264
Seixas, Romualdo Antônio de, 68, 95–96
Senate
Abrantes' proposed interventions, 160
general plan and, 87–88
Mendes speech in, 334–335
privilege and, 3
restorationist talk and, 99
Treaty of Villafranca, 272
Sentinella da Liberdade, 56
Sequeira Joaquim José de, 72, 78, 82–86, 117–118, 126–127, 146
service contract law (lei locação de serviços). *See* work contract laws
sesmarias (royal land grants), 41–42, 50, 87, 128
Setragni, Pedro, 316
Sexagenarian Law (1885), 295–304
sharecropping colonies (*colônias de parceria*), 118–119, 162, 172, 224–225, 249–251
shareholder oligarchies, 82, 124, 128. *See also* oligarchies
Siedler, Carl, 73
Sieveking, Karl, 134
Sigaud, Joseph François Xavier, 101–102
SII. *See* Sociedade Internacional de Imigração International Immigration Society
Silva Júnior, Antônio da, 93
Silva, Caetano Dias da, 204, 255–256
Silva, Francisco Bento da, 315
Silva, João Antônio de Miranda e, 326–331
Silva, José Bonifácio de Andrada e, 35–37, 50, 66–69
Silva, Teodoro Machado Freire Pereira da, 266
Silveira, Miguel de Arriaga Brum da, 37
Sinimbú, João Lins Vieira Cansansão de, 166–167, 271–272, 275–276, 281–282
SITA. *See* Sociedade Importadora de Trabalhadores Asiáticos
slavery and slave trade. *See also* Sociedade contra o Tráfico de Africanos e Promotora da Colonização e da Civilização dos Indígenas (Society for the End of the African Slave Trade and for the Promotion of Colonization and the Civilization of Indians) (SCT)
abolition of, 2, 5–6, 66–67, 138, 159, 176, 226, 248, 254, 259, 263, 284–285, 295–304, 317
abuse and, 139–141, 206, 257–261
background, 12, 81
Confederate emigration to Brazil, 236–237, 242
confounded with colonization, 114–115, 155–159, 165, 205–206
in Cuba, 114–116, 149–150
enslaved rebellion, 81

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slavery and slave trade. (cont.)
free labor as substitute for, 144, 173, 199–205, 229–230, 246, 270
German slaveholders, 42–43, 335
Indian laborers and, 41–42
Indians and, 154
Pedro I and, 64–65
post-independence, 9–10
in Rio de Janeiro, 2
Rio Grande do Sul and, 156
Sexagenarian Law (1885) and, 302, 304
slaveholders, 34, 42–44, 55, 160–161, 168–169, 194, 206, 212, 265
supression, 22–23, 45–46, 94, 150
trafficking, 119–120, 195–199, 308
white, 107–108, 141, 206, 233–234, 257–259
Sloman, Robert Miles, 213–215, 217–218
Soares, Caetano Alberto, 163
Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional (Society for the Aid of National Industry) (SAIN), 2, 96, 100–101, 160, 264–265
Sociedade Bahiana de Imigração, 295–304
Sociedade Central de Imigração (Central Immigration Society) (SCI), 295–305, 307, 309, 317–318
Sociedade Colonizadora Pereira Alves, Bendaszewski & Cia, 229–230
Sociedade contra o Tráfico de Africanos e Promotora da Colonização e da Civilização dos Indígenas (Society for the End of the African Slave Trade and for the Promotion of Colonization and the Civilization of Indians) (SCT), 154, 159–164, 193, 199–205, 333–334
Sociedade de Agricultura, Comércio e Indústria da Bahia (Agricultural, Commercial and Industrial Society of Bahia) (SACIB), 94–96
Sociedade de Agricultura, Comércio e Indústria da Bahia (Bahian Agricultural, Commercial and Industrial Society) (SACIB), 94–95
sociedade em comandita, 16–17
Sociedade Importadora de Trabalhadores Asiáticos (Asian Workers Import Association) (SITA)
as powerful colonization vehicle, 281–288
Chinese question and, 281–290
Coolie emigration obstacles and, 270
Coolie honeypot affair and, 265–269
Coolie importation efforts and, 269, 271–273, 276–277
Indian laborer importation efforts and, 277
origins of, 265–266
Sino-Brazilian treaty and, 282
Sociedade Internacional de Imigração (International Immigration Society) (SII), 239–247, 251, 253–256
Société Belge-Brasilienne de Colonisation, 131–132, 146–147
Société Jean-François Cail & Compagnie, 277–278
sociétés anonymes, 85–86
sociétés en comandite par actions, 85–86
Society for the Aid of National Industry. *See* Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional
Society for the Promotion of Colonization (SPC), 101–119, 123, 158, 202, 207, 211–212, 220, 237
South Australia Colonization Company, 95
Southern, Henry, 156
Souza Breves family, 102–103
Souza, Antonio Francisco de Paula, 230, 245
Souza, Francisco de Paula, 213
Souza, João Cardoso de Menezes e, 270–271
SPC. *See* Sociedade Promotora de Colonização
squatters, 196. *See also* posses (of land)
Storia della colonizzazione europea al Brasile (Grossi), 322–323
Sturz, Johann Jakob, 86–90, 140, 148, 199, 216–217, 244
Such, George, 69
Sugar Duties Act, 142
sugar trade, 142, 149–150, 169, 181, 184

Taiping Rebellion, 218
Talleyrand, marquis de, 38
Tappan, Lewis W., 176. *See also* Sampson & Tappan operation
Taunay, Alexandre d'Escragnolle, 297–298, 302
Taunay, Alfredo d'Escragnolle, 297–298
Taunay, Carlos Augusto, 2–5, 146, 297
Ten Years' War, 254
Texas, 146–147

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Texas German Colonization Society, 134–135
Theses sobre colonização (Menezes e Souza), 298–299
Torrens Act, 304–305
Torrens, Robert, 1
Torres, Joaquim José Rodrigues, 128–130, 145–146
Tosta, Manuel Vieira (barão de Muritiba), 204–205
Trabalhadores Asiáticos (Mendonça), 275–276
trafficking, 95, 114, 119–120, 149, 156–158, 195–199, 308
Transamazonian Highway, 329–330
Treaty of Villafranca, 272

United Kingdom. *See* Great Britain
United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company (USBM), 244–248
United States emigrants, 228, 230–239, 287, 296–298, 302–303
Urquiza, Justo José de, 13–14
USBM. *See* United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company

Vadius, 144, 204–205, 271. *See also* Cândido Baptista de Oliveira
Valadão, Manuel do, 101–102
Valdez, Francisco Travassos, 239
Vandelli, Domingos, 35
Vargas, Getúlio and Vargas regime, 323–328
Varnhagen, Francisco de, 199
Varnhagen, Friedrich, 36
Vasconcelos, Bernardo Pereira de, 67–69, 88, 127, 145, 149–150, 190
Vasconcelos, Diogo, 128–131
Vasconcelos, Zacarias de Góis e, 200, 266–268
Veiga, Eugênio Aprígio da, 162–163
Veiga, Evaristo da, 190
Vergueiro & Co., 172–173
Vergueiro, José, 172–173
Vergueiro, Luiz, 117–119, 209–213
Vergueiro, Nicolau Pereira de Campos, 85, 117–119, 122, 136–147, 154, 183–184
Vergueiros brothers, 212
Viana, Cândido José de Araújo, 145–146
Viana, José da Costa Lima, 326–331
visconde de Francenthal Jacarandá. *See* Schäffer, Anton von
visconde de São Leopoldo. *See* Pinheiro, José Feliciano Fernandes

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, 1, 127–128, 146–147, 160
Wanderley, João Maurício, 156–157, 173
Wappäus, Dr., 13–14, 217–218
Werneck, Luiz Peixoto de Lacerda, 165–166, 178, 201
Werneck, Manoel Peixoto de Lacerda, 178
Westin, Lorenz, 40–41
Weyl, Pedro, 89
white
  population, 30, 45
  privilege, 123
  slavery, 107–108, 141, 206, 233–234, 257–261
  supremacy, 15, 45, 129, 226, 233, 242–243
Wied-Neuwied, Maximilian zu, 41
work contract laws (lei locação de serviços)
  of 1828 and 1830, 104–106
  of 1837, 106, 149
  of 1879, 297
Wright, Robert Clinton, 269

Zentral-Verein für deutsche Auswanderungs-und Kolonisations-Angelegenheiten (Central Association for German Emigration and Colonization Matters), 217–218
Zolberg, Aristide, 23, 293
Zollverein customs union, 138–142

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